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HISTORY

OF

THE DOMINION OF CANADA

GRESWELL

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HISTORY

OF

THE DOMINION OF CANADA

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BY

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&c., &c., &c.

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PREFACE.

THIS short study of the History of the Dominion of Canada may be regarded as the first of a series designed to illustrate the progress of our three great self-governing groups of Colonies in North America, South Africa, and Australasia. It is intended primarily for educational purposes, and to be put into the hands of the higher classes of public schools; but it may also be found useful to the general reader. It has been supervised throughout by members of the Educational Committee of the Council of the Royal Colonial Institute, a public body with a membership of 3564 Fellows, 2259 of whom reside in the Colonies. The Educational Committee consists of the following gentlemen: Sir Henry Barkly, G.C.M.G., K.C.B., late Governor of Cape Colony; Mr. F. P. de Labilliere; Mr. C. Washington Eves, C.M.G.; Lieut.-General R. W. Lowry, C.B.; Sir Charles Mills, K.C.M.G., C.B.; Mr. Peter Redpath; Dr. Rae, F.R.S., and Sir Frederick Young, K.C.M.G.

The History of the Dominion provides us with a somewhat wide and diversified study. In its early stages it cannot be understood without a continual reference to the character and general progress of French, Spanish and British colonisation in the South. In fact, up to 1783, the date of the Independence of the thirteen United States, it forms part of the general history

of the whole North American Continent. What was done in the Ohio and Mississippi valleys, and along the whole eastern sea-board from Maine to Florida, in the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, affected closely the fortunes of the colonists of the valley of the St. Lawrence. It must be remembered, also, that the line of Continental exploration was pushed southwards to the Gulf of Mexico from advanced mission-posts on the western lakes, as the voyages of Joliet, Marquette and de la Salle prove. First westwards by the Ottawa and French River, and then southwards from Green Bay to the sources of the Mississippi, the line of adventurous enterprise was carried from a Canadian base.

It must also be borne in mind that in these centuries, and indeed for some period in the nineteenth century, we are dealing with the old and now thoroughly effete Colonial System, the bare outlines of which it requires an effort of the imagination to realise. The introduction of old forms, old ideas and a cumbrous machinery of Government into a new country, perplexes rather than enlightens the student. The bitter controversies of Roman Catholics and Protestants are transferred to the New World. The plans and projects of kings, cardinals, adventurers, refugees and illustrious patentees, confuse boundaries, in the days of primitive geographical definitions, and furnish a picturesque rather than an intelligible and straightforward narrative. The Canadian historian has to take into account parallel developments going on in many places at once, from the ice-bound shores of Hudson's Bay to the warmer regions around the Gulf of Mexico. New England was a very definite centre of activity, confined within clear

geographical limits, and added to the early history of the North American Continent a most characteristic and unmistakeable chapter. This was not the case with New France, which was a geographical term written loosely over many degrees of longitude and latitude, but never meaning a long-sustained enterprise or mission. Had the Protestant Coligny's efforts been strongly backed up by the French nation at the end of the sixteenth century, or had de la Salle's magnificent acquisition of Louisiana been filled up with some thousands of Huguenot refugees from old France at the end of the seventeenth century, the history of the North American Continent might have read very differently. But these Protestants of France were compelled by the force of circumstances to build up prosperity for other nations, to the detriment of France.

The French Court, although subject to occasional fits of enthusiasm, often lapsed into carelessness or forgetfulness. Louis XIV, after having encouraged the colony of de la Salle in Louisiana, neglected it, and suffered it to go to ruin. Champlain, de Frontenac, d'Iberville were all enthusiastic workers in the cause of colonisation, but they were not sufficiently supported, and Montcalm at last was left almost alone to maintain a doomed cause. Moreover, the feudal institutions of Old France transplanted to the valley of the St. Lawrence were destined to fail. Freeholds were nearly impossible under the Seigneurs, and arbitrary restrictions and mandates of a paternal Government, combined with the demoralising feudal custom, checked the chivalry of New France, and called into existence the roving Coureurs des Bois, who were trading adventurers rather than *bona fide* colonists.

New England filled up far more rapidly than New France, and the test of population was always against the French, generation after generation. Little by little France's dream of Transatlantic Empire faded away.

After 1783 it might have been supposed that the History of Canada would be simplified when the History of North America parts into two distinct channels. But such is not the case. The continual quarrels of the French and British colonists north of the international boundary, sometimes on questions of race and sometimes on religion, obscure the narrative and interfere with the plain course of material progress. The settlement of the United Empire Loyalists in Ontario complicated the pages of history, whilst it created a Province. Two nationalities were facing one another, and Lord Durham observed in his Report (1838) that their antagonism was bitter, strong and thoroughly uncompromising. The Pax Britannica has settled down long ago upon French and English, Roman Catholics and Protestants, and the country, since the Confederation Bill of 1867, seems to have entered upon a long untroubled era of prosperity; but this end was not gained without much delay and many misunderstandings. Even now we seem to hear the echoes of the old strife. For many years it was the policy of the Home Government to act upon the principle of *Divide et impera*, and to keep the Canadian settlements as distinct as possible from one another, fearing rather than favouring the idea of political union. Traces of this policy were discernible, Lord Durham remarks, up to 1817.

Moreover, to attain to a complete knowledge of Canadian History, it seems almost necessary to follow

seriatim the natural development of the River, Maritime and Prairie Provinces, not forgetting the annals of the Hudson's Bay Territories and Newfoundland. In the following work, necessarily very brief and compendious, such a minute survey is impossible. I have been unable to devote as much space as they deserve to Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, both of which Provinces have a character and political history of their own. The gallant efforts of British sailors to solve the fascinating problem of the north-west passage—a tale throughout of thrilling heroism, lasting from the days of Cabot and Frobisher to the present time—have only been glanced at in a cursory way.

The general history of Canada is not without its doubtful points and disputed interpretations. Mr. Kingsford, the latest Canadian historian, vindicates the character of the usually maligned General Braddock, and assigns to Champlain, the founder of New France, a still higher position than that usually given him. He poses as the eulogist of the latter and the apologist of the former. In answer to the knotty question who first saw and described the Rocky Mountains, Mr. Kingsford is inclined to let the honour rest with the American explorers Clarke and Lewis (1803). Mr. Bryce, the historian of Manitoba, claims the distinction for the Verendryes (1742-3). The materials of early Canadian History are found chiefly in Champlain's own account of his voyages, and, after him, in the Jesuit relations. The Fathers also were the earliest cartographists of the country. Father Hennepin (1680) is regarded as an untrustworthy witness, but Charlevoix (1720) has left behind him some valuable sketches of colonial life in

his letters to the Duchesse de les Diguières; and Peter Kalm, the Swedish traveller and naturalist, throws a useful side-light upon the state of Canada in 1749–50. I have quoted largely from the Centenary Edition of Bancroft's History of the United States. The venerable author, who for forty years has had the opportunity of correcting and revising his own work, still has, I believe, the privilege of a seat in the Senate, a living personification of the spirit of North American History. I have also drawn largely upon Macmullen's History of Canada (Brockville, 1868) for an account of the Constitution, and upon the picturesque pages of Parkman for a description especially of the Indians.

As far as space has permitted, I have dealt carefully with the various steps by which the fullest political liberty was won by the Canadian colonists. The Union Bill of 1840–1 dates the era of Colonial Emancipation, and is of interest to all colonists. Then, and not before, the logical sequel of the gift of Representative Government to the Colonies was acknowledged. Permanent and irremoveable Executive Councils were proved to be an anomaly and obstruction in a country governed theoretically by the popular vote. The fact has been brought home to myself after a residence of several years in a self-governing Colony, that the sense of a common political enfranchisement and the achievement of a common political ideal under the Crown of England must always constitute a very strong and important link between all British colonists. Common institutions promote as much sympathy between the branches of our race as a common language.

The Dominion of Canada must naturally be regarded

as an advanced and fully developed type of colonial life. From the Constitutional point of view it may serve as a great example and precedent for other communities, the problem of Federalism under the Constitutional Monarchy of Great Britain being there so successfully solved. My standpoint, therefore, is not simply that of the Canadian colonist, but that of one who regards British North America as one of the most notable portions of a vast Colonial Empire, between all parts of which knowledge and sympathy should exist. Reciprocity of knowledge between England and her self-governing Colonies, and also between the groups themselves, must be a prelude to any other kind of closer union that may be contemplated. I have done my best in these pages to promote such knowledge among the generation who will feel its importance for themselves. In conclusion, I must express my thanks to Dr. Rae for his help and advice on the subject of Arctic exploration and the geography of the Polar Seas, to Lieut.-General Lowry and to Mr. Peter Redpath for many valuable suggestions, and to Mr. J. S. O'Halloran, the Secretary of the Royal Colonial Institute, for his general supervision and kind assistance. The Proceedings of the Royal Colonial Institute, representing as they do the opinions and ideas of residents in the Colonies expressed in the most public manner in London, and criticised freely by open discussions at the readings of the various papers, have proved a mine of wealth. The contents also of the valuable library of the Institute have been fully placed at my disposal by the Council, and every facility for reference has been given me by Mr. J. R. Boosé, the Librarian. The maps, eleven in number, which accompany this History, are compiled from the best

authorities, and in many instances are of a special character. In addition, a geographical and descriptive Hand-book dealing with the Provinces separately will be shortly issued with seven maps, so that the whole work on the Dominion will be illustrated altogether with eighteen maps. I have to express my thanks to the gentlemen of the High Commissioner's Office in London for the general assistance they have given me; also to Mr. Justice Pinsent for his notes and suggestions on the History and Geography of the Island of Newfoundland, a colony which, although politically distinct from the Dominion of Canada, is nevertheless so closely connected with it historically and otherwise that it cannot be treated as a separate study.

WILLIAM GRESWELL.

DODINGTON:
January 27, 1890.

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ANALYSIS OF CONTENTS.

CHAPTER I.

British Colonisation. Its Methods and Results.

PARAGRAPH		PAGE
(1)	The three groups of self-governing Colonies in North America, South Africa, and Australasia	1
(2)	England's vantage-ground	2
(3)	British colonisation contrasted with Portuguese	3
(4)	Spanish	4
(5)	Dutch	5
(6)	French	6
(7)	German	7
8	The Victorian epoch of colonial expansion	7
(9	British methods essentially different from Roman	8
(10)	From Greek. England an oceanic not a thalassic power	8
(11)	The independence of Greek settlements	9
(12)	England on the highway between two Continents; London taking the place of Corinth, Venice, and Byzantium	10
(13)	The daring vigour of England's explorers, such as Franklin, Cook, Bass, Flinders, Livingstone and many others	11
(14)	The British Empire a Pax Britannica. Bishop Berkeley's Transatlantic ideal	13

CHAPTER II.

The Awakening of Europe (1200–1500 A.D.).

(1)	The Norsemen in North America	14
(2)	The voyages of Beorn, Leif and Thorwald	15
(3)	The silence of history for 400 years	16

PARAGRAPH PAGE

(4) The era of Byzantine art. The prosperity of Venice and Genoa 16
(5) The riches of the East. Voyages of Carpini, Ruysbroeck, Nicolas and Maffeo Polo. Marco Polo . 17
(6) Invention of the compass 18
(7) Influences of the age upon Columbus 19
(8) Rumours of land in the Atlantic 19
(9) Voyages of the Portuguese and Spaniards down the west coast of Africa. Diaz. Vasco di Gama . . 20
(10) Columbus at San Salvador, 1492 20

CHAPTER III.

The Cabots and Bristol (1497).

(1) John and Sebastian Cabot. The Charter of Henry VII 21
(2) Religious aspect of early discoveries. The fervent piety of Columbus 22
(3) The fabled land of Cipango 23
(4) Discovery of Labrador and Newfoundland by Cabot (1497) 23
(5) The landfall of Cabot 24
(6) Henry VII's second Charter, 1498 25
(7) Purchas and Sir William Monson on the exploits of Cabot 25
(8) The English navy in the reigns of Henry VII and Henry VIII 26
(9) Robert Thorne's expedition in search of a North-West Passage. William Hawkins. Hore. Rut . . 27
(10) Sir John Hawkins, Sir Francis Drake . . . 28
(11) Newfoundland Fisheries. The Code of the Fishing Admiral 30

CHAPTER IV.

Jacques Cartier and French Exploration.

(1) First voyage of Jacques Cartier. The peninsula of Gaspé 30
(2) His second voyage. Stadacona. Hochelaga . . 31
(3) His third voyage. Sieur de Roberval and the Vice-royalty of Canada 31

PARAGRAPH PAGE

(4) English apathy in the St. Lawrence Valley accounted for 32
(5) The attraction of the North-West Passage. Sir M. Frobisher 33
(6) Sir Walter Raleigh's Virginian settlements. . . 34
(7) The Protestant colony of Coligny in Florida destroyed by Spain (1564) 36
(8) The progress of Spain in the South. Cortes and Pizarro 37
(9) Spanish explorers and geographers. Juan Ponce de Leon, 1513; Francisco Fernandez, 1517; Francisco de Garay, 1519; Stephen Gomez, Cabeza de Vacca, 1536; Ferdinand de Soto 38
(10) The character of the natives in North and South America 40

CHAPTER V.

The Native Races.

(1) Origin of the term Indian 40
(2) Division of the North American Indians. (*a*) Eskimo; (*b*) Algonkins; (*c*) Iroquois; (*d*) Mobilian groups. 41
(3) Migration of the Eskimo tribes 41
(4) Rink's classification 42
(5) The Beothuks of Newfoundland 43
(6) The Tribal system of the Indians 44
(7) How they differ from the Kaffirs of South Africa . 46
(8) The distribution of the Algonkin tribes . . . 47
(9) The Hurons or Wyandots 48
(10) The Iroquois or Five Nations 48
(11) Conquests of the Iroquois 50
(12) Contrasted with Peruvians, Mexicans. 50
(13) Description of the life of an Ojibwa native by Parkman 51
(14) The Indians of the Peninsula of Florida. The confederacies (*a*) of Salouriana; (*b*) Thimagoa; (*c*) King Panaroo 52

CHAPTER VI.

Champlain and the Rule of the Hundred Associates.

PARAGRAPH		PAGE
(1)	The commission of the Marquis de la Roche. Its failure	53
(2)	Expedition of Chauvin and Pontgrave, 1600	54
(3)	Samuel Champlain, the father of French colonisation	54
(4)	De Monts the Protestant colonist	55
(5)	De Monts' Patent and the Acadian Settlement	55
(6)	The founding of Quebec by Champlain, 1608	56
(7)	Champlain and the Prince of Condé	57
(8)	Discovery of Lakes Champlain and George. The Algonkin alliance	57
(9)	Champlain explores the river Ottawa, Lake Nipissing, French River, Lakes Huron and St. Clair, 1616	58
(10)	Slow progress of French colonisation	59
(11)	Cardinal Richelieu. Extent of New France. The Hundred Associates	59
(12)	Misfortunes of New France. Death of Champlain	60
(13)	Character and aims of Champlain	61
(14)	The Jesuits and the Huron Mission	61
(15)	Sufferings of the missionaries. Brebeuf, Lallemand, Jogues	62
(16)	Successors of Champlain. Ailleboust, de Lauson, M. de Argenson, M. de Avaugour	63
(17)	Peaceful proposals of English to French colonists, 1660	64

CHAPTER VII.

New France and New England.

(1)	New France from 1535 to 1635	65
(2)	The English Settlements on the coast	66
(3)	Character of English colonisation in North America. Sir Humphrey Gilbert's Charter, June, 1578	66
(4)	The Raleigh Charter, 1584. Roanoke Charter of James I, 1606	68
(5)	The second and third Virginian Charters	69
(6)	The self-government of the Virginian colonies	70

PARAGRAPH PAGE

(7) The Calvert Patent 70
(8) The Pilgrim Fathers, 1620. Their Compact . . 71
(9) Character of the Colony of New Plymouth . . . 72
(10) New England an asylum for illustrious political refugees 73
(11) Influx of immigrants. Remarks of Edmund Burke and Adam Smith 74
(12) The inherent weakness of French colonisation . . 75
(13) Wars at home between Protestants and Roman Catholics 75
(14) The Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, 1689 . . 76
(15) The Puritanism of New England a help to the mother-country 76
(16) England and Holland. Victories of Admiral Blake . 78
(17) The continuity of England's Colonial policy, and the two great forces (*a*) of the Reformation, (*b*) the attraction of the New World 78

CHAPTER VIII.

France and the Mississippi (1663–1688).

(1) France under the new rule. The policy of Jean Baptiste Talon 79
(2) The Order of the Jesuits 80
(3) Their learning and zeal 81
(4) Fathers Claude Allouez, Dablon, Marquette . . 82
(5) Explorations down the Mississippi by Marquette . 82
(6) Discoveries along the Wisconsin, Missouri, Wabash . 83
(7) De la Salle. Expedition down the Mississippi. Tonti Louis Hennepin. Louisiana claimed for Louis XIV 83
(8) Character of La Salle 84
(9) English colonisation a true occupation of territory . 85
(10) High-minded Patentees. Lord Baltimore. William Penn 85
(11) The peaceful message of 'the Quaker King,' 1682 . 86
(12) French colonists sometimes thwarted by parties at home 86
(13) The Great Trading Companies. The Mississippi Company. The Hamburgh, Russia, Eastland, Turkey or Levant Companies 87

PARAGRAPH PAGE

(14) The South Sea, East India, Hudson's Bay Companies. The Dutch and French Companies 88

(15) Power and privileges of these great Companies. Verdict of Adam Smith 88

CHAPTER IX.

Border Feuds between English and French (1690–1713).

(1) The French outposts at Frontenac, Mackinaw, and on the Illinois. Their weakness. Massacre at Montreal 91

(2) The test of population. England's twelve Colonies . 91

(3) The Governorship of Frontenac. Massacre of Schenectady 92

(4) The raids of de Rouville 93

(5) The Congress at Rhode Island. Determination of the colonists to conquer Canada. French successes 93

(6) Power of Frontenac and extent of French influences . 94

(7) The murderous attack on Haverhill, a village near the Merrimac 95

(8) Exasperation of the English colonists. Border vendetta 96

(9) The expedition of Hovenden Walker. Its failure. Treaty of Utrecht and cession of Nova Scotia, Newfoundland and Hudson's Bay Territory, 1713. . 96

(10) Hudson's Bay Territory. Its geography. Voyages of Frobisher and Davis 97

(11) Hudson, Button, Hall, Baffin, James, Gillam. The North-West Passage 98

(12) Claims of French and Portuguese to Hudson's Bay Territory 100

CHAPTER X.

Newfoundland and Nova Scotia.

(1) Review of Newfoundland history. Lord Bacon's verdict on the Fisheries. Description by Captain Richard Whitbourne 101

PARAGRAPH PAGE

(2) The strategic importance of the Island . . . 102
(3) The Avalon Peninsula and the Calvert Settlement . 103
(4) The unsettled government of the Island till 1728 . 104
(5) Rivalry of French and English fishermen . . . 106
(6) Nova Scotia. Its climate and natural advantages . 106
(7) The orchards and pastures of Acadia 108
(8) Founding of Port Royal, 1605 109
(9) The policy of de Monts and Poutrincourt . . . 110
(10) Sir William Alexander's Charter, 1621, and the Knights Baronets of Nova Scotia. The Retrocession of 1632 110
(11) Cromwell's policy. Nova Scotia retaken . . . 111
(12) Treaty of Breda, 1667. Nova Scotia given back to France 112
(13) Final conquest by England and surrender of Subercase, 1710 112

CHAPTER XI.

Events between 1713–1758.

(1) The question of boundaries between English and French 114
(2) The French policy to keep the English colonists behind the Alleghanies, and 'to seize every Englishman in the Ohio Valley' 115
(3) Capture of Louisburg, 'the Dunkirk of North America,' 1745 115
(4) D'Anville's Expedition. Its failure 116
(5) The struggle for the outposts. Activity of George Washington. The line of Forts 117
(6) Braddock's Field, 1755 118
(7) Foundation of Halifax, 1749 119
(8) Of Dartmouth, 1750; of Lunenburg, 1753 . . . 119
(9) Expulsion of Acadian farmers, 1755. A stern necessity of war 120
(10) Exploration in the North-West by Verendrye, a French officer 121
(11) Discovery of Lake Winnipeg (Ouinipigon). The Assiniboine (St. Charles). The Souris (St. Pierre) 122

PARAGRAPH PAGE

(12) First glimpse of the Rocky Mountains. The valley of the Saskatchewan. The Athabasca and Peace Rivers discovered. Fort Chippewyan erected. Further exploration of Hudson's Bay regions by Middleton 123

CHAPTER XII.

Montcalm and Wolfe (1758–1763).

(1) Montcalm's verdict, 'New France needs peace' . . 125
(2) Victory declares itself at first for the French. Failure of Lord Loudon and Admiral Holborne in an attack upon Louisburg 125
(3) Expedition of Amherst. Conquest of Cape Breton and Prince Edward Island 126
(4) The war around Lake George. Ticonderoga. Fall of forts Frontenac and Du Quesne. Braddock's Field revisited 126
(5) The final struggle. Quebec the 'objective' . . 128
(6) Fall of Niagara 129
(7) Wolfe's army and fleet. Investment of Quebec . 129
(8) Wolfe resolves to strike a blow. His well-planned surprise. The fight on the Plains of Abraham and death of Wolfe and Montcalm, 1759 . . . 130
(9) The end of French rule at hand 132
(10) A last attempt to recover Quebec, 1760 . . . 132
(11) Treaty of Paris, 1763. England's great gains . . 132

CHAPTER XIII.

England's Colonial Policy (1763–1783).

(1) The well-founded grievances of American colonists . 134
(2) The taxes and the tax-gatherers 135
(3) Lord Sheffield's opinion on the sole use of colonies. The American cry of 'Liberty, Property, and No Stamps!'. 135
(4) Effect of the Stamp Act upon home industries . . 136
(5) The two poles of opinion in England. Charles Townshend and Isaac Barre 136

PARAGRAPH PAGE

(6) The dispute between England and Pennsylvania on the subject of the military command . . . 138
(7) The claim of the Governor of South Carolina to administer oaths 138
(8) Too little conceded to the argument for liberty gathered from natural surroundings in the Colonies 139
(9) Edmund Burke's six capital sources of colonial liberty 140
(10) Difficulty of gauging colonial sentiment always present in England 141
(11) The argument of military expenditure for defence purposes put forward by England 141
(12) The counter-argument of a vastly increasing trade and commerce. Burke's calculations . . . 142

CHAPTER XIV.

The Development of Canada (1783–1809).

(1) The United Empire Loyalists 143
(2) Separation of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick . . 144
(3) Settlements of the Loyalists in Ontario and growth of the two river Provinces, Quebec and Ontario . . 145
(4) The Constitutional Act of 1791 147
(5) Seigneurial Tenure. The habitans 148
(6) The Clergy Reserves 149
(7) The conservatism of the French Canadian population 150
(8) Sympathy between British Government and French Canadians on matters of principle 150
(9) French colonial policy was secondary to European policy 151
(10) An era of tranquillity and expansion 151
(11) First steamers on the Hudson River 153
(12) Exploration in the Great North-West. Alexander Mackenzie 153
(13) His journey to the Polar Sea from Fort Chippewyan, 1789 154
(14) His journey to the Pacific Ocean in 1792 . . . 155
(15) Voyages along the north-west coasts of America by Cook, Clarke, and Vancouver 156

CHAPTER XV.

The War of 1812.

PARAGRAPH PAGE

(1) The strange alliance of the United States with Imperial France. Berlin and Milan decrees . . 158
(2) Causes of irritation between England and the United States 159
(3) The population of Canada compared with that of the United States 159
(4) Declaration of war. Three invasions of Canada . 160
(5) Successful night attack upon the Americans by General Vincent 161
(6) The duel between the Shannon and Chesapeake . 162
(7) Defeat of the British forces at Moravianstad. Death of their Indian ally Tecumseh 163
(8) Privateering in the Bay of Fundy. Capture of Washington and burning of the Capitol 163
(9) Last scene of the war at New Orleans. . . . 164
(10) Battle of Lundy's Lane. Heroism of Mrs. Secord . 164
(11) The historian's verdict upon the war. No glory to the United States 165

CHAPTER XVI.

Events from 1814–1837. The Papineau Revolt.

(1) The warlike and turbulent feeling of the country calmed by peace 167
(2) Immigration and local improvements. The Lachine and Welland Canals. John Young. Samuel Archibald. Thomas Haliburton 167
(3) Progress of education. Founding of McGill College and Dalhousie College, 1821. Origin of Ottawa . 168
(4) The disastrous Miramichi Fire, 1825 169
(5) The commercial crisis of 1837. Ability shown by Sir Francis Head 170
(6) Disloyalty in the St. Lawrence Valley at the time of Queen Victoria's accession. Lord Gosford's report 170
(7) The grievances of the Clergy Reserves . . . 171

PARAGRAPH PAGE
(8) Sir Francis Head and the thirty-seven Rectories . 172
(9) The Constitutional difficulty the real stumbling-block 173
(10) Outlines of the Constitutional Act of 1791 . . . 173
(11) The colonists deprived of control over their fiscal policy 174
(12) Complaint against the government of the few . . 175
(13) The Canadian revolt had no connection directly or indirectly with the French Revolution . . . 176
(14) The anomalous position of the French seigneur . . 176
(15) The Rising crushed. Mackenzie and Papineau outlawed 178

CHAPTER XVII.

Lord Durham's Report.

(1) Lord Durham's three main suggestions . . . 180
(2) The Union Bill. Its provisions 181
(3) Continued friction between the Executive and the Assemblies 182
(4) The echo of the great Reform Bill, 1832, heard in Canada. Lord John Russell's despatch . . . 183
(5) The old Colonial system doomed. Policy of Holland 184
(6) The lesson taught by the revolt of New England . 184
(7) The Canadian Revolt stirred home sentiment very deeply 185
(8) A new era in Canadian history. The first Parliament of June, 1841 186
(9) An era of territorial expansion and increased prosperity 186
(10) The Ashburton Treaty, 1842, defining the Maine boundary 187
(11) Internal improvements. Schools, post-offices, railways. Canada at the Exhibition of 1851 . . 187
(12) Reciprocity Treaty between Canada and the United States 188
(13) The Fisheries Convention of 1818 189
(14) First Atlantic cable 190
(15) Visit of the Prince of Wales, 1860 191

CHAPTER XVIII.

The Constitutional Question.

PARAGRAPH		PAGE
(1)	Unsettled state of politics between 1841–1867, owing to growing political inequalities	192
(2)	The various elements in Upper and Lower Canada	193
(3)	The influence of the tide of immigration upon social and political life	194
(4)	The idea of Federalism forwarded by race diversities	195
(5)	The position of a Governor-General of Canada	196
(6)	The type of a successful constitutional Governor was developed slowly	197
(7)	Diversities of administration in the British Empire	197
(8)	The colonial Governors of England a class *sui generis*	198
(9)	The Canadian Governors between 1840–1850	199
(10)	The influence of Lord Sydenham and Canadian politics	200
(11)	His predecessors. Sir John Colborne. Sir Francis Head	201

CHAPTER XIX.

The Constitutional Governors of Canada.

(1)	Lord Sydenham succeeded by Sir Charles Bagot, 1842; Lord Metcalfe, 1843; Earl of Cathcart, 1846; Lord Elgin, 1847	202
(2)	Lord Elgin the most distinguished of these. The Constitutional crisis in Nova Scotia, and high-handed proceedings of Sir John Harvey	203
(3)	In Lord Elgin's Governorship the Canadians obtain control over Civil List, 1847, and Post Office. The Bill of Indemnification	203
(4)	Final settlement of the Clergy Reserves difficulty	204
(5)	The Seigneurial Tenure Act	205
(6)	Lord Elgin succeeded by Sir Edmund Head, 1854	206
(7)	Formation of the Volunteer Force, 1855. The principle of self-defence laid down by Mr. Gladstone in 1859	206

PARAGRAPH PAGE

(8) Canadian colonists serve in the Crimean War with distinction. Captain Parker, Major Welsford, and General Fenwick Williams 207
(9) The Legislative Council made elective in 1856 . . 208
(10) Ottawa chosen by Queen Victoria as the seat of Government, 1858 208
(11) Progress of Canada during Sir Edmund Head's term of office 208
(12) Lord Monck succeeds Sir Edmund Head, 1861. His constitutional attitude towards Canadian parties . 209
(13) He introduces the idea of Confederation of the Provinces in 1865 209

CHAPTER XX.

Confederation.

(1) The Charlottetown Convention 210
(2) The meeting at Quebec, February, 1865. The adoption of Union resolutions 212
(3) The delegates in London and the British North America Act, July 1, 1867 213
(4) The two classes of opponents to Confederation . . 213
(5) Brief outline of the constitution of the Dominion of Canada 214
(6) The four units of the Government 214
(7) The Provincial Governments of Quebec, Ontario, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick 215
(8) The sphere of Federal and Provincial Governments . 215
(9) Verdicts of Mr. John Bright and Lord Carnarvon . 216
(10) Burke's prophetic language in his speech on Conciliation with America. 216
(11) Possible development of the Federal system in the British Empire 217
(12) Retention of the Privy Council in colonial constitutions 218
(13) The Dominion Act carried with it power of expansion. Admission of Manitoba, 1870; British Columbia, 1871; Prince Edward Island, 1873 . . . 219

CHAPTER XXI.

Federalism in the United States and South Africa.

PARAGRAPH		PAGE
(1)	The example of United States Federalism of use to Canadians	219
(2)	A defect in the United States constitution	220
(3)	Revision of the Canadian constitution rests with the Crown	220
(4)	The relation of the States of the Republic and the Provinces of the Dominion to the Central Government	221
(5)	The question of 'States' subsidies	222
(6)	The railway bribe	222
(7)	The possible friction between Dominion Legislation and Provincial Rights	223
(8)	The British North America Act contrasted with Lord Carnarvon's South Africa Act	223
(9)	The Boer ideal of Government opposed to Federalism	225
(10)	The question of religious tolerance in the two countries	225
(11)	The Boer dislike of foreigners. Their inaptitude for trade and commerce	226
(12)	Canadian Confederation hastened by the action of the Republic on the South	227
(13)	The sympathy of Canadians with England as a Maritime Power. The English navy a bond of strength	227
(14)	The native element in South Africa introduced limitation on provincial and federal jurisdiction	228
(15)	The anomalous character of the office of High Commissioner in South Africa	229
(16)	British immigration to South Africa not to be compared with that to Canada	229
(17)	The importance of introducing Confederation at the right moment	230
(18)	The whole topic approached differently in the two countries	231
(19)	The Confederation Bill regarded in Africa as an exogen	231

CHAPTER XXII.

The Great North-West.

PARAGRAPH		PAGE
(1)	Prince Rupert's Charter	232
(2)	The opening up of the vast 'No Man's Land'	233
(3)	The trade tariff of the Hudson's Bay Company	234
(4)	Lakes and rivers of the Great North-West. The Mackenzie Valley	235
(5)	Three prairie levels and three classes of soil in the North-West	236
(6)	The isolated forts and factories of the country	236
(7)	The Hudson's Bay Territory annexed to Canada	237
(8)	The Company's rights. Their monopoly attacked	237
(9)	Compensation given. The new Government	237
(10)	The Selkirk settlement and beginnings of Manitoba. Causes of migration from Scotland	238
(11)	The hardships of the first colonists	238
(12)	Devotion of the Highlanders to Lord Selkirk	239
(13)	A period of Arctic exploration. Captain John Franklin, Doctor Richardson, George Back, 1820	240
(14)	Exploration from Point Separation to the Coppermine River, 1825–7	242
(15)	Further explorations by Back, 1833–4. Dease and Simpson, 1837–9	242
(16)	By Parry, 1819–23. John Rae, 1846–54	243
(17)	The revolt of Lepine and Louis Riel. Colonel Wolseley's expedition	244
(18)	Causes of the Rebellion. Mr. Marshall's verdict	245
(19)	Two immigrations to the North-West, that of Russians and Icelanders	246
(20)	The Railway Period in the North-West	246
(21)	Contemplated railway between Lake Winnipeg and Hudson's Bay	247
(22)	The water-ways of the North-West. Artificial canals.	248

CHAPTER XXIII.

British Columbia.

PARAGRAPH		PAGE
(1)	The barrier of the Rocky Mountains. Their passes .	249
(2)	Bishop Sillitoe's description of British Columbia. Its mineral wealth	250
(3)	The great advantages of the Pacific sea-board. Its climate, coast-line	250
(4)	Description of a run from Burrard Inlet. The city of Victoria	251
(5)	Explorations of George Vancouver. The San Juan controversy	253
(6)	The two separate Governments of Vancouver Island and the mainland united in 1866	254
(7)	The history of British Columbia divided into four periods	255
(8)	Railway Period a fifth Period. Begun in 1870. Rapid progress of the work	255
(9)	The engineering difficulties in British Columbia. The famous loops of the railway	256
(10)	Commercial and strategic advantages of the railway. An alternative route to the East	257
(11)	A new world opened up for travellers and sportsmen. The Park at Banff	259
(12)	The mileage of the railway. Its cash subsidies. Grants of land	259
(13)	A survey of the vast expanse of country the railway traverses for 3000 miles	260
(14)	The actual and prospective advantages of the Province of British Columbia	260

CHAPTER XXIV.

The Canadian Dominion and the United States.

(1)	The fusion of races in the Canadian Dominion. The migration across the international boundary . .	261
(2	The Prairie Provinces, owing to natural and climatic causes, the granary of the Continent . . .	262

PARAGRAPH PAGE

(3) A comparative table showing the admixture of nationalities 262

(4) What will be the future of the Dominion? Three courses open to it—(*a*) Absorption into the Republic on the South; (*b*) Independence; (*c*) A continued political connection with the mother-country 263

(5) Causes of friction between the Dominion and the United States. The affair of the Trent. The Philo Parsons and Island Queen 264

(6) Stimulating effect of the termination of the Reciprocity Treaty upon Canada 265

(7) The Fenian invasion of 1866 266

(8) The Washington Treaty, 1871. The adjustment of four international disputes 266

(9) Recapitulation. Chateaubriand's regret. Why the history of Canada is interesting 268

(10) The materialist triumph of the British Empire. How it is leavened. The heroes of the race . . 270

(11) The evangelising spirit of Berkeley. Colonists co-partners of the Imperial heritage 272

(12) John Locke and his Paper Constitution . . . 273

(13) The stain of convictism. Edmund Burke. A Canadian poetess 274

(14) England's second Colonial Empire. An amphictyonic council 276

(15) The influence of the submarine cable. Wordsworth's Sonnet on 'British Freedom' 277

LIST OF MAPS.

			PAGE
I.	The Highways of Commerce (with distances), with wanderings of Marco Polo . . .	To face	11
II.	The track of Vikings, Columbus, and Cabot to the New World	,,	15
III.	Acadia and Newfoundland, 1534–1745 . .	,,	56
IV.	The Huron Mission, 1640	,,	62
V.	Boundary wars between French and British, 1740–1763	,,	115
	Showing also (*a*) Bancroft's classification of native races east of the Mississippi. (*b*) The East Coast Settlements—English, Dutch, Swedish. (*c*) New France and Spanish Florida. (*d*) Part of Louisiana and the Mississippi Valley.		
VI.	Nova Scotia, 1755	,,	130
VII.	Siege of Quebec, 1759		
VIII.	The War of 1812. The Niagara Frontier	,,	160
IX.	,, ,, Lake Champlain		
X.	A Circumpolar Map, showing the progress of Arctic discovery	,,	240
	(See pp. 98, 124, 156.)		
XI.	A Railway Map, with distances from Montreal westwards	,,	246

CHAPTER I.

British Colonisation.—Its Methods and Results.

(1) THERE are three methods by which a country usually acquires colonial possessions,—by conquest, by cession, and by occupancy. Great Britain acquired the Canadian Dominion by the first method, taking it from the French in 1763; South Africa by the second in 1814, when the Dutch finally ceded it to her; and Australia by the third in 1788, when a batch of English settlers was planted at Port Jackson. These three portions of her Colonial Empire are by far the most interesting, from the fact that they are peopled mainly by Europeans and men of our own kith and kin, governed in the same way, and situated, for the most part, in temperate regions where emigrants can develop to the utmost their energies of mind and body. In each case they form genuine states in political union with Great Britain. They have achieved a distinct life and character of their own, and within a marvellously short period have increased greatly in wealth and population. Their future should in each case be a grand one, from the physical fact that they possess unlimited room for expansion. The Dominion of Canada holds a territory nearly as large as Europe, extending over an area of 3,400,000 square miles, with a population of over 5,000,000. In the North-West Territories the finest wheat-fields in the

world are to be found. The South African colonists look to the watershed of the Zambesi as their northern limit, thus including a vast area from 34° to 18° south. The Australian colonists claim for themselves the fee simple of the South Pacific, and assign no limit to their legitimate influence. The white population in these three quarters of the globe numbers about 10,000,000 souls. These groups are as distinct as possible from the Crown colonies which are governed directly from home, such as Mauritius, Hong Kong, or Ceylon, and also from Natal and Western Australia, which are within a short distance of full enfranchisement. In the case of Natal the presence of a large native element and the unsettled aspect of politics in the south-east of Africa have delayed the gift of Responsible Government. In Western Australia the paucity of the colonists themselves and the undeveloped condition of a huge territory have induced the Crown to retain its hold over the executive powers[1]. In course of time the reasons for keeping these two colonies in a state of nonage will have disappeared, and they will be classed with their neighbours as Responsible Colonies, with an executive removable at will. Such colonies to a great extent hold their destinies in their own hands. As homes of the great English-speaking race they have preserved the laws, customs, literature, and constitution of the parent country.

(2) Great Britain lost her earliest Colonial Empire in 1783, when the American colonies on the eastern sea-board of the Atlantic raised the flag of independence. This empire dated from the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and was founded partly by religious refugees, Puritans or Roman Catholics, and partly by merchant-venturers and persons who obtained patents and charters from the Crown.

[1] A Bill to introduce Responsible Government in this colony is now before the Imperial Parliament.

When this domain passed out of her power Great Britain set to work to build up a second. The colonisation of Australia began five years (1788), and that of South Africa twelve years (1795) after the date of American independence. This second empire is before us now, and will repay the closest study and attention. Its whole area is about ten millions of square miles, its population 315 millions. It is a complex study, and must be approached in detail. India is a problem in herself, so is Malaya. The Crown colonies, wherever they are situated, present a diversified picture of Crown rule in numerous parts of the globe. But the three great groups of colonies included under the Canadian Dominion, the Cape Colony, New South Wales, Victoria, South Australia, Queensland, Tasmania, and New Zealand, command our first attention as colonies in the strictest sense of the word. They represent, as Professor Seeley puts it, the 'overflow of the British nation into distant lands.' England, therefore, is in no vain sense the 'mother of nations.' Her insular position has given her unrivalled opportunities for extending her rule, of which she has availed herself to the uttermost. Although part and parcel of the European system, she has been enabled to look on or take part in continental wars without the sense of deadly, imminent risk to her national liberties. She has held a vantage-ground of observation, as it were, and profited by her neighbours' wrangles. When the Mediterranean ceased to be the highway of nations and the paths of the Atlantic were open, England and Holland took a leading position.

(3) To understand more precisely what British colonisation is, we may contrast it with that of other European nations, such as Spain, Portugal, Holland, and France, who have founded Colonial Empires. As a colonising power Portugal may be said to have long since become effete.

Excepting a few trading and commercial ports, with a nominal suzerainty extending over some area around them, she has no possessions at all. Madeira is a Portuguese possession lying outside Europe, but the very mention of this beautiful island calls up a picture of a nerveless and languishing colonial life. Portugal's claims to parts of Africa on the Congo (somewhat summarily disposed of at the Berlin Conference of 1883), and to the country round Delagoa Bay and along an extended littoral both on the south-east and south-west of Africa, are shadowy and unreal. She has no genuine colonising energy, and her officials sit at the receipt of custom and live on the industry of other nations. Moreover her possessions lie chiefly in tropical and subtropical countries where Europeans cannot thrive. Once she boasted of a magnificent American empire in Brazil, but this was lost to her in 1822. Contrary to general rule, this empire long preserved the monarchical principle, and was governed by a constitutional sovereign of the house of Braganza. The Portuguese colonial policy was the same as that which prevailed amongst their European neighbours, and the fact that the monarchical principle survived was in reality an accident and brought about by affairs in Europe. Brazil became the home of the royal family of Portugal and an integral portion of the 'United Kingdom of Portugal, Algarves, and Brazil' (1815). The separation between the European and American parts of this united kingdom took place seven years later. In every sense of the word Brazil is a greater Portugal.

(4) The greatness of Spain as a colonising power has long since passed away. She left ruined cities and broken dynasties in Mexico and Peru during the period of her first conquests. Spain governed South America for the good simply of Spaniards at home. At one time she

seemed to uphold a 'Munroe doctrine' for South America. The whole continent was regarded as an integral portion of the Spanish monarchy, whither it could import all its cumbrous and stately methods of government. Every appointment in South America was filled up from Madrid, to the exclusion of colonial-born Spaniards. At the same time the Madrid government raised up a colonial aristocracy which, when it came to the point, and Spain was embarrassed by European complications, headed a revolution and created Republics. From Upper Peru or Bolivia arose Simon Bolivar, the hero of Spanish colonial emancipation. The example of the United States in throwing off the British yoke in 1780–90 was contagious. For many years, however, the Spanish Colonial Empire remained in chaos and disorder, differing greatly from the orderly progress of Brazil under constitutional monarchy. Thus the days of the magnificent Spanish viceroyalties, with all their intrigues, nepotism, corruption, and court favouritism, passed away never to return. Spain never learned the art of maintaining free dependencies. She had no chance of learning her lesson twice as England has learnt it after bitter examples.

(5) Holland colonised in North and South America and in the Indian Archipelago. Her most valuable possessions at one time were Berbice and Demerara. But in North America the Dutch settlements at Fort Nassau in New Jersey, the Isle of Manhattan, and along the Delaware, were almost immediately swallowed up by the New England colonists. At the beginning of this century she had a strong position at the Cape of Good Hope, but England supplanted her here in 1795. In reality the Cape of Good Hope was governed directly by the Netherlands East India Company, which discouraged genuine colonisation and ruled despotically and by privilege. When Englishmen came to the Cape greater local

freedom and fuller municipal power followed in due time. In the east, and especially in Java, where they have faced a native problem, the Dutch have been more fortunate. The Island Continent of Australia (once called New Holland), New Zealand, and Tasmania (first known as Van Diemen's Land) are proofs of Dutch enterprise in the southern seas, and of their explorations from 1606 to 1642.

(6) At present the two chief colonising powers in Continental Europe are France and Germany, and of the former it has been said that they have colonies but no colonists, and of the latter that they have colonists but no colonies. Since they lost their North American possessions the French have ceased to be successful colonists. There is no room or opportunity for a second Acadian life. All that is left them of their magnificent Canadian dominions are two small fishing islands, St. Pierre and Miquelon, off the coast of Newfoundland, where the Breton and Biscayan fishermen salt their cod and recruit their fleets. It is a pitiful remnant of a great transatlantic empire which appealed so often to the imagination of such men as Coligny, Richelieu, and Montcalm. Algeria is at present France's chief colony, but, like Hindostan, it will never be a country adapted for European colonisation. There is a curious admixture there of Eastern and Western nationality; but a Frenchman can never become an Algerine, as British immigrants, when they reach our colonies, become Canadians or Australians. The country has proved a good training-ground for French generals, and militarism flourishes better there than trade, husbandry or agriculture. Colonial life, pure and simple, seems distasteful to the modern Frenchman. Conquest by force of arms is hardly more to his liking, as the expeditions to Madagascar, Tonquin, and the East have lately proved; for he has failed even here, and the French

colonial policy stands at this moment discredited, the mobilisation of a colonial army interfering with their military system at home, and resulting in nothing tangible. Their recent plantations of convict settlements in the Pacific at New Caledonia and in South America at Cayenne, seem, like some of our own early experiments, to show an inadequate estimate of colonial life.

(7) The Germans have scarcely come into the field, though within the last few months we have witnessed isolated attempts to build up a German Colonial Empire. There have been annexations on the west coast of Africa (1883–4), and a protectorate along the east (1887–8); while in the Pacific Ocean the German flag has been hoisted in New Guinea and the islands on its flank, known originally as New Britain and New Ireland, to the west of the Solomon groups. But of colonies in the true sense of the word Germany has none. The millions of Germans who have emigrated from the Fatherland within the last generation have gone to build up the prosperity of the United States. There is no German colony reproducing under the German flag the laws, manners, customs, and polity of the Fatherland. Prince Bismarck declares that Germany cannot imitate England, and the most the German Government can do is to follow and protect German merchants.

(8) England, therefore, stands to-day without a rival as a colonising power. With her vast Eastern possessions and the great new centres of British activity at Melbourne, Montreal, Sydney, Quebec, Capetown, and scores of other cities rising in wealth and numbers every day, the affairs of the Continent seem far less important than they were in the days of Queen Anne and the Georges. The Victorian epoch is an epoch of colonial expansion, the effects of which upon our national thought and life

are scarcely yet perceived to their full extent. Ancient history furnishes neither precedent nor clue. England has been likened to a greater Carthage or a Venice doomed to sudden decay. But as no empire, commercial or other, has ever been built up like our own, we can hardly compare its conditions with any other or guess its fate. We know that it is essentially different from the Phœnician, Greek and Roman polities, and the historian or economist cannot prophesy securely what its future will be.

(9) It is clear that the Phœnicians and Romans colonised very differently from the Greeks and from ourselves. At a very early date Tyre, Sidon, and Carthage were great exchanges of wealth and the emporia of the world. But they lived on commerce without 'homing off' and colonising in distant or unoccupied lands and carrying the machinery of the state with them. The power of the Phœnicians seems to have been localised from time to time in some particular region allowing no independence or growth to offshoots. The Romans regarded their colonies principally as military outposts. All along the valley of the Padus and elsewhere, as the tide of conquest rolled on, their hold over Italy was strengthened by legionaries placed as armed garrisons in the subject cities and kept under the discipline and surveillance of superior officers. Such colonial posts broke the strength of Hannibal and brought about his ultimate defeat in the Carthaginian wars. The English have occasionally planted military colonies in such places as Kaffraria and along the eastern frontier of the Cape Colony to overawe the Kaffirs; but our general system of colonisation in motive, origin, and conception has been as different as possible from that of Rome.

(10) In many ways the British race resembles that of Greece, with this important exception, that it possesses an

'oceanic' instead of simply a 'thalassic' power. The Greeks obtained a supremacy in the Mediterranean, whilst the British fleet boasts that it can sweep the oceans of the world. The influences of language, literature, tradition, games, and customs were very strong amongst the Greeks; they are equally strong with the British race. The love of out-door exercise and athletic superiority is predominant in both. But the supreme differences appear in the causes which prompt colonisation and in the methods by which it has been carried out. In the first instance, until taught by experience, England governed her colonies and legislated for them simply from an English stand-point, not a colonial. This was the old heresy which lost Spain and Portugal their magnificent possessions, and it was common throughout Europe. The supposition at the bottom of the whole was that no Briton could put off his citizenship by colonisation. He carried the State with him wherever he went, and was subject to its power and control. He might be compelled to leave his country by the pressure of bitter religious persecution, which no Greek was forced to do, but he was still to be loyal and dutiful to the powers that be. In their darkest and gloomiest hours the Pilgrim Fathers would profess obedience to the British Government, and they expressed it in the covenant they drew up on board the Mayflower before landing in New England.

(11) Amongst the Greeks the mother city did not claim to rule her colonies by inherent right. There was no assertion of official authority on the one side nor any feeling of dependency on the other. The colonists treated visitors from the parent state on all public occasions with an excess of respect: but beyond these feelings of affection each state was independent of the other. The colonies regulated their own trade, made peace and

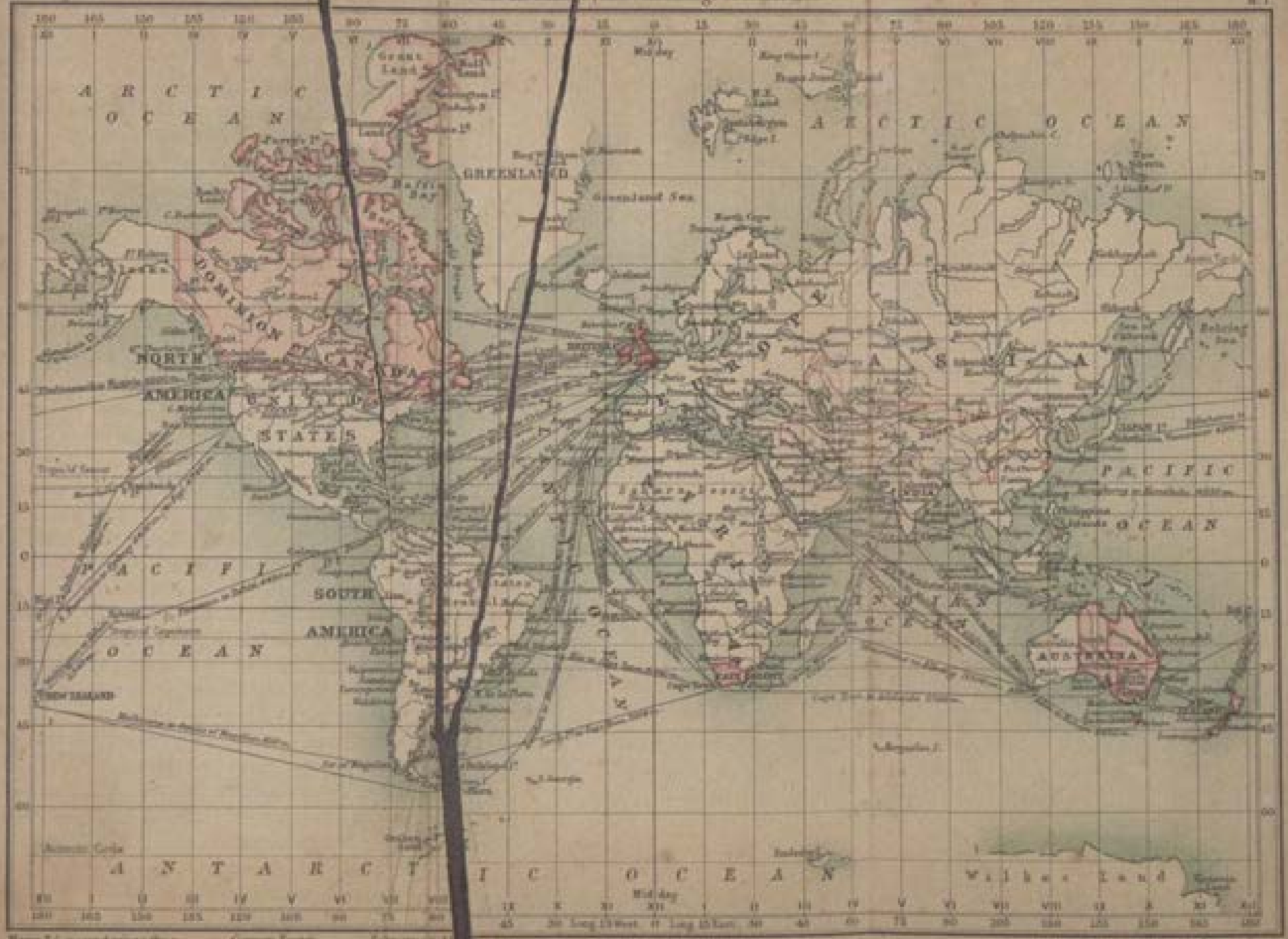
war upon their own responsibility, and gave or withheld assistance to the mother-city in her wars according to their own discretion; and even sent forth colonies of their own. From Miletus in Asia Minor a large number of colonies were settled along the shores of the Mediterranean. Corinth founded Corcyra, and Corcyra in her turn founded Epidamnus. The Greek colonists would not bear the strain of any formal or obligatory tie. One of the complaints against the Athenians brought forward by her allies and dependencies at the time of the Peloponnesian war, was that she forced them to try cases of law at Athens before an Athenian dikastery. The idea of a Supreme Court of Appeal such as we have in our Privy Council and the Americans have in their Supreme Tribunal under the Federal Government, never came home to the Greeks. The Confederacy of Delos was a short-lived effort to unite the Hellenes in a formal way; but it sprang from the sense of a common danger from Persia, and was scarcely a lasting compact agreed to by consenting states.

(12) Again, we have colonised on an infinitely greater scale than the Greeks, our geographical position helping us enormously. The British Islands from their position in the rough northern seas are suited to produce a race of sailors, colonists, and explorers. In the first place, their situation with reference to the land-surface of the globe is a central one. If we take London as the centre of a circle and draw an imaginary circumference with a diameter of 6000 miles, it will be seen that almost every important position in the Eastern and Western hemispheres is included. A journey of 6000 miles south from London will bring the traveller to the Cape of Good Hope; a similar journey westwards, by steamer and railway, brings him to British Columbia and the Pacific slope; and within the same radius the main

THE HIGHWAYS OF COMMERCE,

with distances, and wanderings of Marco Polo

To face Page II.



Marco Polo's wanderings thus ——— Caravan Routes ——— Submarine Cables

Rail journeys Odessa-Vladivostok coloured red.

Oxford University Press

arteries of the Eastern world and the nations of the Mediterranean will be included. With the increased facilities of travel afforded by steam it is an inestimable advantage to have an extensive sea-board, and the value of an insular position is at once apparent. In the general migration of nations from east to west the British Islands stand on the very highway of progress. There can be no better centres for distributing goods and commerce to the various parts of the world than the marts of our native land. London occupies the same position now that Corinth, Venice, and Byzantium did formerly; but it has a far nobler outlook. It lies midway, as it were, between east and west; and the fact that the Czar's functionaries, who govern his eastern provinces in Asia, come through London to reach the North Pacific, is a proof not only of the immensity of the Russian empire, but also of the wonderful facility of travel afforded from London over open seas to every part of the world. Add to this the fact that our northern climate has produced a race of sailors and adventurers from the days of the Vikings to the present, inured to all the perils of the sea and the rigour of climate; and we see before us a nation which has in its physical robustness and daring spirit every element of greatness. Their only rivals are found in similar latitudes in the fiords of Norway and on the Biscayan sea-board. It is a well-known fact that the physical constitution of the Teuton is able to endure extremes of climate better than any other race. In the fifteenth century the Spanish and Portuguese led the way, but once upon the track of exploration our sailors were foremost. The perils of the Northern Sea were familiar to them, from the fact that they had long carried on a traffic with Iceland for fish.

(13) From the earliest times to the present the history of British exploration and colonisation has been

a record of chivalry and heroic stedfastness. We have every reason to be proud of the deeds of our forefathers. The type of the manly Achilles and of the much-enduring Ulysses has been reproduced again and again in our national annals. The efforts to solve the problem of the North-West Passage tested the skill of our seamen and the daring vigour of our captains to the uttermost. Many of them, like the gallant Franklin, lost their lives in those distant and ice-bound regions. In the South Pacific the voyages of Cook, Bass, Flinders and Anson read like romances. Yet the main object of such men was not a lust of empire, but a desire to lead the van amongst nations and solve a geographical point of interest to all mankind. And not only by sea but by land the first object of British exploration has been to open up the dark places of the world. Men of the type of Livingstone, who lies in Westminster Abbey, are not uncommon. In speaking of the enterprise of the hardy British stock in New England Burke said (1775), 'Pass by the other parts and look at the manner in which the people of New England have of late carried on the whale fishery. Whilst we follow them amongst the tumbling mountains of ice, and behold them penetrating into the deepest frozen recesses of Hudson's Bay and Davis' Straits; whilst we are looking for them beneath the Arctic Circle, we hear that they have pierced into the opposite region of polar cold, that they are at the Antipodes, and engaged under the frozen serpent of the south. The Falkland Islands, which seemed too remote and romantic an object for the grasp of national ambition, are but a stage and resting-place in the progress of their victorious industry. Nor is the equinoctial heat more discouraging to them than the accumulated winter of both the poles. We know that whilst some of them draw the

line and strike the harpoon on the coast of Africa, others run the longitude and pursue their gigantic game along the coast of Brazil. No sea but what is vexed by their fisheries! no climate that is not witness to their toils!'

(14) Broadly speaking the British Empire means a *Pax Britannica*, in spite of numerous small campaigns which are, for the most part, surface indications of a settling-down process. For some time past, as our possessions have become assured to us, the sense of moral obligation and responsibility has become quickened and intensified, especially since the Emancipation Act, and the dream of such an idealist as Bishop Berkeley has been partly accomplished, who foresaw, long ago, that the savage, whether Carib or Indian, whether a dweller on the Atlantic islands or a rover in the vast forests of the continent, could be taught and instructed in better things, and that this function of teaching ought to rest with Britons.

'The Muse, disgusted at an age and clime
Barren of every glorious theme,
In distant lands now waits a better time,
Producing subjects worthy fame:

Then shall be sung another golden age,
The rise of empire and of arts,
The good and great inspiring epic rage,
The wisest heads and noblest hearts.

Not such as Europe breeds in her decay;
Such as she bred when fresh and young,
When heavenly flame did animate her clay,
By future poets shall be sung.

Westward the course of empire takes its way,
The four first acts already past;
A fifth shall close the drama with the day,
Time's noblest offspring is the last.'

In these lines Bishop Berkeley struck upon a great historical truth. The westward movement begun long ago

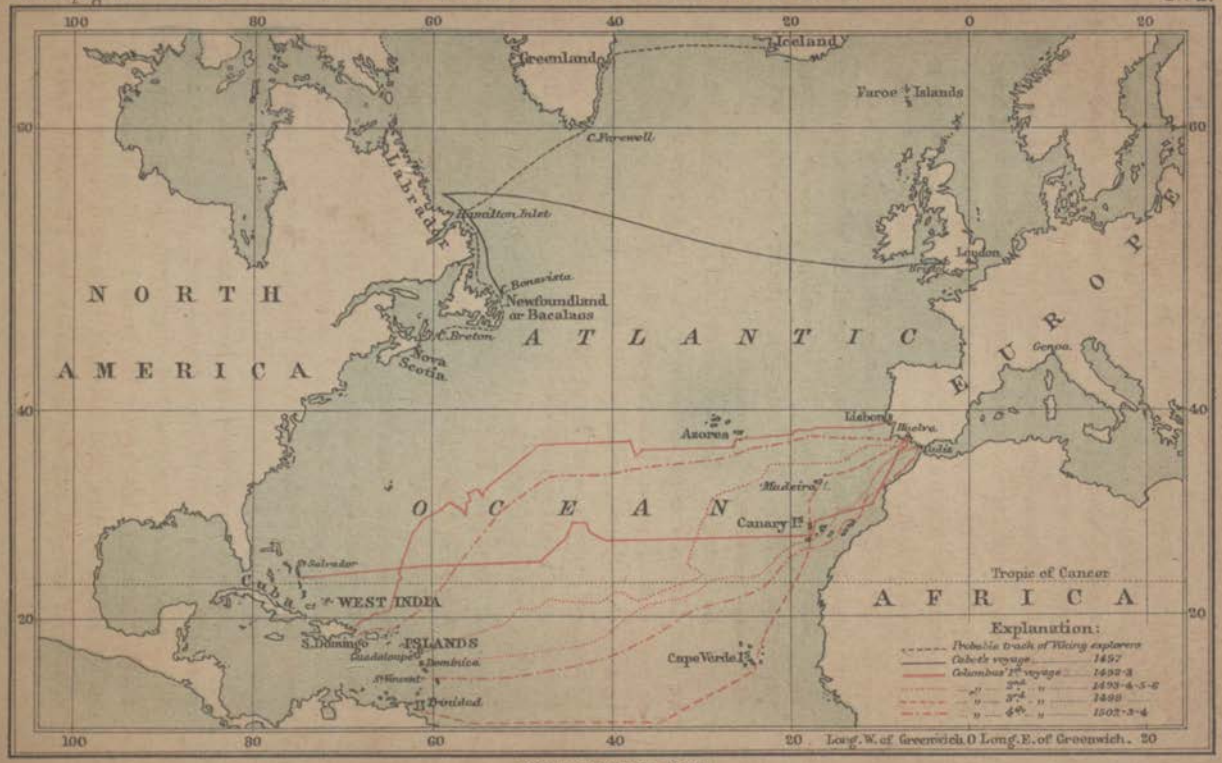
is still going on in Canada and the United States. The last stanza of his magnificent lyric is immortalised in a painting on the walls of the National Capitol at Washington. The signs of material progress are visible everywhere in the New World, both in the great Republic and in the great Dominion.

CHAPTER II.

The Awakening of Europe (1200–1500 A.D).

(1) THE beginnings of the magnificent Canadian Dominion—which stretches now from the Atlantic to the Pacific Oceans, from Halifax to Vancouver, for a space of 3000 miles across the continent of North America—were laid in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Long ago, at least 500 years before the celebrated expedition of Columbus in 1492, Northmen from Greenland had reached the coast of North America. Being bold and fearless sailors, they had crossed the stormy North Sea from their native fiords and made colonies in Great Britain and Ireland, whence they sailed to the Faroes and Iceland. When in the ninth century the great feudalising movement had reached Norway, and Harold Harfager was forcing the allodial gentry to do him service, the Vikings broke away in wild freedom. They looked to the sea as a refuge, and in the spirit of true colonists turned their prows to lands where the new laws and organisation were not established. So from their settlements in the

THE TRACK OF VIKINGS, COLUMBUS AND CABOT TO THE NEW WORLD.



Oxford University Press.

British Isles they passed further north and settled in the Faroes and Iceland. This was the beginning of the Faroic and Icelandic Commonwealths. The Icelandic Sagas or Stories preserve a picture of the daily lives as well as a record of the adventures of these early colonists. The Sagas were the product of the age following upon and attending the days of colonisation. They are an interesting part of the native literature of our race, which owes so much of its hardihood and enterprise to the admixture of northern blood. From Iceland the Northmen found their way to West Greenland, and the runic inscriptions discovered in that country and brought to Copenhagen in 1831, confirmed the truth of the Icelandic writings relating to the early voyages of the Norsemen.

(2) The Book of the Settlement of Iceland, compiled by Are the historian in Iceland (*c.* 1130), records how a reef was discovered north-west of Iceland known as Gunnbeorn's Reef (probably islands or rocks on the East Greenland coast), and how, later, Greenland was discovered, and afterwards its west coast settled by Eric the Red from Iceland (*c.* 985). This Greenland colony extended from the South Cape of Greenland along the west coast in two long groups of settlements, as far north as latitude 75°. On a western voyage, Beorn, son of a Greenland settler, was driven by a north-east gale far to the west, when he sighted, but did not land on, three New Lands lying a few days' sail from each other and from Greenland (the coast of British North America). Leif the Lucky, son of Eric the Red, followed up this by an expedition to view the New Lands (*c.* 1030). He named Beorn's New Lands Stone-land, Bush-land, and Wine-land (Labrador, and the country north and south of the St. Lawrence estuary). He landed, built a homestead called Leif's booths, and brought back good report of the country. Several expeditions followed. Thorwald, Leif's

brother, built a ship there, and laid up the old one on a promontory to which they gave the name of Keelness. Shortly afterwards Thorwald, whilst fighting with the Scraelings [Eskimo], received a wound from which he died. According to Viking fashion he would be buried on a headland looking seawards in the stout Norwegian ship that had carried him thither, and there they may still be lying, the Viking captain and his ship. Should Thorwald's barrow ever be discovered and the ribs of his ancient ship bared to view (as has happened with the Sea-king's ship in Norway), a story of romantic enterprise and travel will be doubly proven.

(3) For 400 years, however, there is silence, and not even tradition tells of discovery. We hear that, about 1400, the icy barriers round Greenland had increased so much that intercourse by this way to the west was completely cut off. The nations of Europe were looking elsewhere for war and adventure, and a new generation of Vikings turned their prows southwards. The 'gorgeous East' with its wealth and opulence entranced the European imagination. European mariners attempted the open waters of the Great Atlantic, not with a view of conquest or colonisation, but from a desire to reach the Indies from the West. For centuries the only means of communication between East and West had been the Caravan routes. The terminus of this trade was naturally found in Eastern Europe.

(4) Silks, muslins, ebony, ivory, oil, palm-wine, gesamum, gems such as rubies, sapphires, topazes, amethysts, together with gold and spices and all the countless products of the East, reached Constantinople overland. This was the time of Byzantine art, this the era of Byzantine magnificence. The warmth and glow of the East were being filtrated along this channel, as it were, into the veins of the sluggish nations of Europe. The Italian

republics felt this glow first of all. It was the traffic with the East which made them rich, and gave them the title of the merchants and money-changers of the world. Their geographical position favoured them. The Venetians and Genoese occupied a position, mid-way, as it were, between the two worlds, the old and the new, where they could receive and distribute every kind of ware and fabric. They had stepped into the place of the Phœnicians and the Greeks of old, and the magnificent palaces by the canals of Venice show how great their wealth and magnificence once were :—

> 'Her palaces are crumbling to the shore,
> And music meets not always now the ear ;
> These days are gone—but beauty still is here.'

Little could the prosperous merchants of the Italian Republics guess how quickly the turn in their fortunes would come. Not as in the present age, when a new discovery is flashed upon the world almost instantaneously, the daring deeds of explorers and the tidings of a successful voyage came slowly to the ears of these merchant princes. They scarcely realised that they were falling before they fell.

(5) A passion for travel and adventure had long been asserting itself, and the eyes of all were bent upon the wonders and riches of the East. In 1245, a Minorite Friar, Carpini, despatched by Pope Innocent IV to the Mongols, was the first European to publish a rational account of that nation. He also brought back news of China and of the celebrated Prester John. In 1253 another Minorite Friar, Ruysbroeck by name, starting from Acre, reached Karakoram, the residence of the great Khan. He first gave a description of arrack or rice-spirit, and of the yak, and he also proved that the Caspian was an inland sea, and not connected with the Northern Ocean as had been hitherto supposed. In 1254

Nicolas and Maffeo Polo, Venetians, the father and uncle of Marco Polo, who had establishments at Constantinople and the Crimea, took a journey into Tartary and came to the Court of Kublai Khan. Marco Polo himself was the Herodotus of these ages. He revealed to the western world regions they had never heard of before. He describes China and the towns of Hang-chow and Chincheu, and hears from the sailors of those regions the wonderful description of the great island of Cipango or Japan. Gold was so plentiful there, that the roof of the prince's palace was covered with it. The opulence of this island tempted the rapacity of Kublai Khan, who, with a vast fleet and army, attempted in vain to annex it to his empire. In his wonderful journeyings, the archipelagoes of the Indian Ocean unfolded themselves to Marco—Cochin China with its ebony, Borneo with its spices, Cambodia with its elephants and gold, and the riches of fruitful Java and Sumatra. From Sumatra Marco Polo sailed to the Nicobar and Andaman islands, to Ceylon and the Coromandel coast, and found the commerce of India stretching from the territories of Kublai Khan to the shores of the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea.

(6) At last, in the 15th century, there was a general awakening of the western nations. Portugal, Spain and Holland bestirred themselves, and envious of the enormous wealth of the Italian Republics, strove to take away their monopoly. This could only be done by finding a new way to the East by the open sea, as they could none of them compete with the Italian merchants in the close waters of the Mediterranean. With the revival of learning and the invention of the compass their opportunity came. The knowledge of the magnetic needle certainly came from the East. Marco Polo brought back a knowledge of it from China in 1290, but probably without practical results: whilst others say that Flavio da Melfi,

a Neapolitan, invented it, and hence the Principato (part of the kingdom of Naples) had the compass as its arms. In the hands of the mariners of Europe it became a most potent instrument of discovery. Its trembling finger led men to dare the deeps of ocean in a way they never ventured to do before.

(7) The art of map-making was in its rudest infancy, and the bounds of the Eastern continent were absolutely unknown in Europe; but everywhere there was a struggle for greater freedom and more light. The continuous efforts made by the crusaders from 1096 (the date of the first crusade under Walter the Penniless) to 1290 (the time of the last crusade) did not end with personal adventures. The struggle with the infidel over the sacred city made the Western nations, Goth, Frank, Swabian, and Saxon, ponder and reflect: and now the mind of Christopher Columbus, well constituted to think and act, was stirred with all the wonder and poetry of this age. Born probably in Corsica, he was a citizen of Genoa, and therefore able to learn all that was known of science and geography in those days. His own countrymen naturally did not wish him to adventure far afield, as the opening of a western route to the Indies would have destroyed their trade. So Columbus offered his services to Ferdinand and Isabella, king and queen of Aragon and Castile.

(8) There were not wanting traditions of a western continent even at that time. The Portuguese settlers in the Canaries actually declared they had seen land far down in the west. More than one expedition had set out with solemn ceremony and with the prayers of priests to find it, but none had succeeded. Columbus knew all this, he knew too that the world was round, and that to sail west was to reach India. Although Columbus was set down as a visionary and enthusiast, he was entrusted

at last with a vessel and crew by the Queen of Castile. But many of his sailors were criminals let loose upon this desperate chance, as it was thought, of saving themselves; and when they set sail from the harbour of Palos in Portugal their friends took a sad farewell of them, never expecting to see them again.

(9) Long voyages had already been made down the African coast, and explorers had reached the tropics after many thousand miles of travel, but land was never left far distant. Little by little the Portuguese and Spaniards had been creeping down the coast of Africa on the western side past Morocco, Senegambia, Liberia, to the Gulf of Guinea and the regions of the tropics, until at last Bartolomeo Diaz, a Portuguese captain, sighted the Cape of Good Hope in 1486, and found an open sea before him. Then came Vasco di Gama, who sailed from Lisbon in July 1497, rounded the Cape, reached Natal, and, keeping along the eastern coast, arrived at Melinda, where he found Arab pilots acquainted with the navigation of the eastern seas. With their help he reached Calicut on the Malabar coast, and returned to Lisbon in September 1499, with crews reduced from a total of 160 to 55. Such were the risks of explorers in these days, chiefly arising from malaria, scurvy, and bad food. In Mid-Atlantic all was unknown, and the waves and winds were far more terrible there than in the Mediterranean.

(10) Columbus altogether miscalculated the earth's size. How greatly he did so may be gathered from the fact, that when he touched first at San Salvador in the Bahamas (October 12, 1492), he thought he had reached India, and those Japanese and Malayan archipelagoes of the far East which Marco Polo had described. Columbus visited Cuba and a few of the neighbouring islands and sailed back to Europe. To the Spaniards the returning discoverer seemed as one risen from the dead, and a most enthu-

siastic reception was given to him by the queen and nation.

The spell was broken, and mariner after mariner followed Columbus' track westward. True it is, that the key to the East and the wealth of the Indies was not found on these Atlantic voyages. But the wealth of a new world lay at the feet of the old. Spaniards, Portuguese, Dutch, French and English all rushed to have a share in the new discoveries beyond the Atlantic.

In 1497, while Vasco, Camoens' hero, was rounding the Cape, the mainland of North America was discovered, and thus that memorable date saw two great geographical secrets solved. To the south Africa could be circumnavigated, and India reached by sea, and to the west it was now known that a vast Continent, not a mere shadowy Atlantis, lay across the track of sailors. But could the East Indies be reached by the north-west? This was still a secret locked away in the snowy north.

CHAPTER III.

The Cabots and Bristol (1497).

(1) Amongst the numerous adventurers who were fired by the example of Columbus were the two Cabots—John and Sebastian. Their family, named in its native form Gabato, came from Venice, but, crossing over to England, settled at Bristol, at that time a most enterprising seaport. John Cabot, being a skilled geographer and a keen merchant, possibly instigated explorations from Iceland

further to the west, following along the line of the Scandinavian adventurers who, as already stated, had sighted Labrador and the great American Continent many years before. John Cabot got a charter from Henry VII conferring privileges upon himself and his three sons—Lewis, Sebastian, and Sanctus. His object and purpose are thus quaintly described by an Italian—Raimondo di Soncino—writing to the Duke of Milan on the subject. He says: 'The Englishmen, Cabot's partners, say that they can bring so many fish that this kingdom will have no more business with Islanda [Iceland], and that from this country there will be a very great trade in the fish which they call stock-fish. But John Cabot has his thoughts directed to a greater undertaking, for he thinks of going, after this place is occupied, along the coast further towards the east, until he is opposite the island called Cipango, situate in the equinoctial regions, where he believes all the spices of the world grow, and where there are also gems. And in the spring he says that his Majesty will arm some ships, and will give him all the convicts, so that he may go to this country and plant a colony there, and in this way he hopes to make London a greater place for spices than Alexandria. And the principals of this business are citizens of Bristol, great mariners, who now know where to go. They say that the voyage will not take more than fifteen days, if fortune favour them, after leaving Ibernia [Ireland]. And I believe some poor Italian friars will go on the voyage, who have the promise of being bishops. And I, being a friend of the admiral, if I wished to go, could have an archbishopric.'

(2) All these early expeditions had a religious aspect. It will be remembered that Columbus, when he found the New World, looked upon the natives as heathen who would be converted and become believers in Christianity, and so

extend the power of the Church all over the world. The love of gold and wealth was certainly not the only motive in the enthusiastic breast of Columbus. After winning the New World and converting it to the true faith, his ambition was to use all its resources for the deliverance of the Holy Sepulchre. If Columbus could find this region of Cipango, he thought that the Spanish sovereigns would be able to undertake another Crusade. To use his own words: 'For so I protested to your Highnesses [Ferdinand and Isabella] that all the gain of this my enterprise should be spent in the conquest of Jerusalem, and your Highnesses smiled, and said that it pleased you, and that without this you were well disposed to the undertaking.'

(3) The land of Cipango [Japan], to which allusion has been made, exercised a wonderful fascination upon the minds of all geographers and explorers. Here the wealth of the East lay, according to report, in the greatest profusion; the palaces of the princes were as richly furnished as Solomon's temple; here was the Eldorado and treasure-house of the world. Now when Columbus had discovered Hispaniola, the natives told him of a region further away which they called Cibao, the cacique or ruler of which had banners of wrought gold. This Cibao Columbus thought must be Cipango, and the cacique the magnificent prince described by Marco Polo. The great Pacific Ocean and the enormous continent of America were never known to Columbus. Nor was the Pacific discovered and its size ascertained until many mariners, following in the track of Magelhaens (November, 1520), burst into these seas by the portals of the stormy south, and explored the Pacific from end to end.

(4) But John Cabot was not destined to discover this golden region of Cipango; he was destined (at least so tradition has it) to chance upon an island which, although

cradled in rough storms and surrounded by a stern and gloomy sea, was yet to be a treasure-house of inexhaustible wealth. Coasting along the shores of Labrador, John Cabot came to Newfoundland. Bacalaos, or the land of codfish, was the name once given to Newfoundland generally, and even to parts of Labrador. Here fisheries were discovered infinitely richer than those of Iceland; here was a new world of trade and enterprise opened up to the sailors of Great Britain, which has lasted from the date of the Cabots' discoveries up to the present day. The annual value of the Canadian Fisheries is enhanced every year by new methods of fishing. A gold or diamond mine may be exhausted, but the harvest of the sea goes on and is renewed every year. Such was the substantial Eldorado which John Cabot and the Bristol adventurers chanced upon. With them also rests the honour of first seeing the American continent[1]. Columbus' explorations were in the Caribbean seas, and amongst the lovely sub-tropical regions of the south. An old writer has thus described Newfoundland: 'The new land of Bacalaos (a name still preserved in Bacalhao Island in Notre Dame Bay) is a cold region whose inhabitants are idolatrous, and pray to the sun and moon and divers idols. They are white people, very rustical, for they eat flesh and fish and all other things raw. Sometimes, also, they eat man's flesh. The apparel of both men and women is made of bears' skins, although they have sable and martens. Some of them go naked in summer, and wear apparel only in winter.'

(5) On the subject of the exact point of land seen first by Cabot, there have been many controversies. Some say that Cape Bonavista, in Newfoundland, was first seen by

[1] It may be noticed here that, according to some, Sebastian, the son of Sir John Gabota, whose portrait was painted by Holbein as 'inventor terrae novae,' was in command.

him, and was originally called Prima Vista ; that the harbour of St. John's, lat. 47° 33′, long. 52° 45′ W, the capital of Newfoundland, was entered by him on his patron's day, June 25, 1497. Some again maintain that the northern point of the Island of Cape Breton was his land-fall, and that Prince Edward's Island—once known as the Island of St. John—in the Gulf of the St. Lawrence, was so named by him. Others maintain, perhaps with more show of reason, that Cabot steered a north and west course from Bristol, as the Bristolian sailors were in the habit of doing, and continued until he sighted land on the coast of Labrador, about latitude 56° N. In old maps there appeared a small island named St. John's, opposite Cape St. Mark, and here the explorer probably unfolded the royal banner of England.

(6) Upon his return to England John Cabot got a second charter from Henry VII in 1498, giving him authority to trade and colonise. On a second expedition Cabot got as far as Hudson's Straits, where he was turned back by the huge floes of ice which come down every year from the frozen Arctic regions, and cause the terrible fogs off the banks of Newfoundland. In Henry VIIIth's reign, John's son, Sebastian, procured a royal charter, and with Sir Thomas Pert again attempted the north-west passage to India by Hudson's Straits.

(7) Cabot returned to Spain, and served there for many years, but in the end came back to England, where he became the governor of a company of merchant-adventurers, and receiving a pension from the Crown, died at a ripe old age. The place of his burial is unknown. His name should have been handed down in Labrador and Newfoundland, but it has only recently been given to a barren group of islands on the east coast of Newfoundland. Purchas, who has done so much for historians during this era, goes so far as to say that America should not have been so

called from Americus Vesputius, but rather 'Cabotiana' or 'Sebastiana,' from the discoveries of John and Sebastian Cabot. Sir William Monson has paid a tribute of praise to the name of Cabot. He writes: 'To come to the particulars of augmentation of our trade, of our plantations, and our discoveries, because every man shall have his due therein; I will begin with Newfoundland, lying upon the main continent of America, which the King of Spain challenges as first discoverer. But as we acknowledge the King of Spain the first light of the west and south-west parts of America, so we and all the world must confess that we were the first that took possession for the Crown of England of the north part thereof, and not above two years' difference betwixt the one and the other. If we deal truly with others, and not deprive them of their right, it is Italy that must assume the discovery to itself, as well in the one part of America as in the other. If Sebastian Cabot had done nothing more, his name ought surely to have been transmitted to future time with honour.' Sir William Monson, in giving him credit for the discovery of Newfoundland, says he was 'the author of our maritime strength, and opened the way to those improvements which have made us since so great and flourishing a people.'

(8) In the reign of Henry VII, England could scarcely be said to possess a royal navy. But it was discovered that no nation could now maintain its proper position without paying attention to trade and commerce. King Henry was himself a merchant, and was always ready to undertake a new trade, or set up a new manufacture, provided he had a share in the profit. Like his predecessor, Edward IV, he was popular with the London merchants, and accepted the freedom of the Merchant Taylors' Company, dining with them and 'doing the honours of their table as if he were their Master.'

Henry conferred a substantial benefit upon his country when he concluded a favourable commercial treaty with the King of Denmark, whereby he secured to his subjects, and especially the citizens of Bristol, the trade to Iceland. Bristol was a favoured sea-port at that time, and four years after John Cabot's first voyage, Henry VII granted a charter to Hugh Eliot and Thomas Ashurst, merchants of this city, for settling colonies in newly-discovered countries. The Great Harry, which cost £14,000 to construct, may be regarded as the first ship of the new Royal Navy. The idea of a permanent naval force had scarcely yet occurred to the English, and when their kings wished to carry on a war on the Continent they hired transports. For some years past the necessity of building larger ships had been growing upon the English merchants who had ventured southward to the west coast of Africa, and encountered there the well-armed and swift galleys of roving Algerine pirates.

(9) In Henry VIIIth's reign (1509–1547) the impulse given to maritime adventure and exploration was not allowed to die out. Mr. Robert Thorne, a merchant of Bristol, addressed a letter to the King, and pointing out the great advantages which Spain and Portugal drew from their colonies, exhorted him to undertake discoveries towards the north. In answer to this request the King placed two ships 'well manned and victualled' at his disposal, and the expedition set out to discover the North-West Passage; but, in spite of the courage and perseverance of the crew, no results accrued. In 1530, Mr. William Hawkins, of Plymouth, father of the famous Sir John Hawkins, fitted out a stout tall ship at his own expense, of 250 tons, called The Paul of Plymouth, and made three voyages to the coast of Brazil, touching also on the coast of Guinea and opening up a lucrative trade there. Another expedition,

inaugurated by a Mr. Hore, a merchant of London, was equipped at private expense, and sailed on the track of the Cabots' discoveries in North America. Two ships, called The Trinity and Minion, were fitted out, and sailed from Gravesend on April 30, 1536, and arrived on the coast of Newfoundland. There they were reduced to great straits, and being nearly starved, some of the crew when on shore killed and ate their companions. Fortunately they seem to have been saved by the arrival of a French vessel, 'well furnished with vittaile, and such was the policy of the English that they became master of the same, and changing ships they set sail for England.' One of the gentlemen named Butts, so Hakluyt writes, was so changed by the hardships he had gone through on this voyage that his relations could only identify him by a large wart he had on one of his knees. In the same reign a less noteworthy expedition was equipped in the year 1527, and sailed for Newfoundland. It was under the patronage of Cardinal Wolsey, and a Canon of St. Paul's went with it and reported to the King and the Cardinal. A certain Captain Rut was placed in command, and writing from St. John's relates that he found there eleven sail of Normans, one Breton, and two Portuguese barks engaged in fishing, proving how valuable at this time the fisheries were, not only to ourselves but also to the 'French and Biscanies.'

(10) The age of the Tudors was an age of naval progress, and it was not long before the British Navy was to assume goodly proportions and earn for itself a world-wide fame. In 1578 the Royal Navy consisted of no more than twenty-four ships of all sizes, the largest being the Triumph of 1000 tons. At the time of Queen Elizabeth's death (1603) there were forty-two ships, amongst which are such time-honoured names as The Dread-

nought, Swiftsure, Antelope, Swallow, Merlin, Cygnet. Amongst the ships arrayed against the Spanish Armada (1588), a large number were equipped by corporations and private individuals. Out of the total of 143, no fewer than forty-two were provided by the nobility, gentry and commoners of England, ten by the merchant-adventurers, sixteen by the City of London, three by Bristol and Barnstaple, two by Exeter, and seven by Plymouth. The spirit of enterprise and adventure was thoroughly awakened, and the masterful strength of our intrepid captains asserted in many remote places of the world before the supreme national struggle in 1588. Sir John Hawkins and Sir Francis Drake may be regarded as typical leaders of the age. Corsairs themselves, British sailors often adopted the *rôle* of guardians and protectors of the sailors and fishermen of other nations against corsairs. An old chronicler, describing the cod fishery of Newfoundland in 1578, says, 'The English are commonly lords of the harbours where they fish, and help themselves to boat-loads of salt and such, in return for protection against Rovers and other violent intruders, who do often put them (the foreign fishermen) from good harbours.' All this was in keeping with the methods of the times. The Law of Nations was lost sight of beyond the immediate boundaries of Europe. The French were always jealous of the fisheries of North America, and disputes connected with them have lasted to the present day. When Newfoundland became a home of British Colonists and a genuine Plantation, the quarrel between them and the fishing fleets of France was sure to be aggravated. At first the French based their claims on an annexation made in 1524, when Verrazano, sent out by the King of France, had sailed along the coast of North America from Carolina to the Gulf of St. Lawrence, naming the country New France.

These shadowy annexations were not worth the parchment upon which they were written.

(11) The law that prevailed off the Banks of Newfoundland was the rough and ready code of the Fishing Admiral, as the master of the first fishing vessel from England, Wales or Berwick that entered a harbour on the opening of the fishing season was termed. Such law would correspond to digger-law which has prevailed in Australia and South Africa at the Gold and Diamond Mines, and is simply introductory to a more settled state of things. Moreover, in matters relating to Fisheries, rights are extremely hard to define and uphold. Some attempt at a regular settlement in Newfoundland was made in 1610 by John Guy, afterwards Mayor of Bristol, who founded a Plantation at Cupid's Cove, in Conception Bay, one of the first patentees of Guy's grant being the famous Sir Francis Bacon. But this Plantation was soon broken up, and John Guy determined to return to England. The interest shifts from the stormy Island of Newfoundland to the valley of the great St. Lawrence, which offered superior attractions to the fur trader and agriculturist.

CHAPTER IV.

Jacques Cartier and the French explorers.

(1) It was during Henry VIIIth's reign (in 1534–5), whilst Francis I was reigning in France, that North American exploration was boldly carried on by Jacques

Cartier. The French king, thinking that his country should have some share in the New World's riches, sent out this noted navigator on voyages of discovery. He sailed three times from France, making fresh explorations every time. First of all he visited Newfoundland, and sailing through the Strait of Belle Isle entered Bay Chaleur, and landed on the Peninsula of Gaspé, south of the St. Lawrence. As a sign of possession he set up a wooden cross with the fleur-de-lis, and an inscription asserting his claim to the land. This method of annexation now seems curious to us, but it was constantly receiving illustration in the early days of geographical discovery. When Diaz first rounded the Cape in 1486, he set up a cross on the lonely island of St. Croix in Algoa Bay on the South African coast, in token of possession.

(2) Jacques Cartier whilst on the Peninsula of Gaspé heard from the Indians whom he met a wonderful account of the St. Lawrence. The next year he fitted out a second expedition, and sailing up the river, discovered, where the city of Quebec now stands, the Indian village of Stadacona. There an old chief named Donacona, who ruled over the Algonkins, welcomed him, and treated his crew kindly. Further up the river Cartier found a larger Indian town called Hochelaga, belonging to the Hurons. Here also he was welcomed by the natives, who had never seen Europeans before, and attributed to them divine and supernatural gifts. Cartier spent a winter near Stadacona, but not being prepared for the extreme rigour of the climate, both he and his crew suffered greatly from scurvy. In the spring he sailed for Europe, taking with him Donacona and many Indian warriors (1536).

(3) Cartier did not revisit the St. Lawrence for five years. The King of France was unwilling to let such

a promising country slip from his possession, and when Cartier came out for the third time, he was associated with Sieur de Roberval, nominated by the king Viceroy of Canada and of the colonies to be established there. But Cartier and Roberval were unable to act together. The native tribes were less friendly than they had been before, their chiefs who had sailed to Europe with Cartier having died meantime, and given them occasion to suspect treachery. So Cartier and the little band of colonists for a while led a miserable existence at a place called Cap Rouge, near Quebec, and then returned to France. It was nearly fifty years before the French again made any serious attempt to colonise the great St. Lawrence Valley.

(4) It may be asked why the English nation did not at once occupy a field of exploration abandoned temporarily by the French during so large a portion of the sixteenth century. Any general reluctance to interfere with the Bull of Pope Alexander, which had influenced Henry VII as a good Catholic, had disappeared in the reign of Henry VIII. It has been remarked that 'the repudiation of Catherine of Aragon by Henry VIII, sundering his political connection with Spain, opened the New World to English rivalry.' The political reason therefore had little or no weight in explaining English apathy in the task of St. Lawrence exploration. This apathy may be partially explained by the fact that the English sailors were too much engrossed with the marvellous wealth of the Fisheries off Newfoundland and Cape Breton to care to undertake serious settlements along the Gulf of the St. Lawrence, and the climate of Labrador, Anticosti and the Bay of Gaspé was not regarded as favourable for the beginnings of an infant colony. When Cartier wintered at Cap Rouge it was under circumstances of extreme discomfort and privation.

Both Mr. Hore's and Mr. John Guy's plantations in Newfoundland itself had been broken up, and presently we shall read of French settlements in Sable Island and Tadousac having a brief and ignominious history. The cause of failure lay primarily in the climate, and it was a long time before the St. Lawrence could really be regarded as useful for anything else than providing forts and depôts for the fur-trade.

(5) Moreover, during this century the English mariners were especially occupied with adventurous cruises in search of the North-East and North-West Passages. Robert Thorne of Bristol, who had helped the Cabots in their first voyage, had expressed a general feeling when he said 'if he had faculty to his will, the first thing he would undertake ever to attempt would be, if our seas northward be navigable to the Pole or no.' Sir Francis Drake, the first Englishman to pass the Straits of Magellan, sailed up the west coasts of the American continent as far as latitude 43° N., intending to return to the East by the supposed North-West Passage, but was stopped by what appeared to him, after the tropics, the intolerable cold of the Californian climate. Sir Martin Frobisher, one of the boldest of the Elizabethan captains, regarded 'the North-West Passage as the only great thing left undone in the world,' and made three voyages in search of it himself. By geographers the strait connecting the North Atlantic and North Pacific was taken for granted, and in old maps it is delineated and made to correspond with Magellan's Straits. On the far side lay Cathay, separated only by the narrow 'Straits of Anian,' and a somewhat mythical rumour has it that the Greek sailor Jean de Fuca, thirteen years after Drake's voyage, wished to go there and fortify it against the possible inroads of the English. Frobisher's enthusiasm was shared by the Court and nation, and as his expedition of

three small vessels of twenty-five, twenty, and ten tons, dropped down the Thames (June 8, 1576), Queen Elizabeth waved her hand in token of favour, and gave them God speed. Twenty-three years before this the young King Edward VI (July 6, 1553) had cheered on the Willoughby-Chancellor expedition to the North-East, causing his attendants to carry him in his last sickness to the window of his palace at Greenwich 'so that he might watch their departure and receive their last salute.' In 1587 Davis, working under the patronage chiefly of Secretary Walsingham, made three voyages in search of the North-West Passage, and reached the high latitude of Davis's Strait. The idea was a life project with the well-known navigator, Henry Hudson (1610), inherited through a line of celebrated mariners from the great Cabot. Baffin (1616) in a letter to John Wolstenholme, a patron of Arctic exploration, says: 'And to speak of no other matter than of the hopeful passage to the North-West; how many of the best sort of men have set their whole endeavours to prove a passage that way, and not only in conference, but also in writing and publishing to the world: yea, what great sums of money have been spent about that action, as your worship has costly experience of.' This passion for North-West exploration certainly helped to withdraw the eyes of the English from the St. Lawrence Valley and set them, if anywhere, in the direction of Hudson's Bay.

(6) It must be remembered also that the share which the great Sir Walter Raleigh took in the colonisation of the mainland of North America largely influenced and turned the direction of English enterprise. Virginia seemed to him, and to others, the best country for 'plantation.' Sir Ralph Lane, the Governor of the Virginian colony of 1585, thus wrote of the country: 'It is the goodliest soil under the cope of heaven; the most pleasing territory in

the world ; the continent is of a huge and unknown greatness, and very well peopled and towned, though savagely. The climate is so wholesome, that we have not one sick since we touched the land. If Virginia had but horses and kine, and were inhabited with English, no realm in Christendom were comparable with it.' Raleigh enlisted in his enterprises the sympathy and personal co-operation of some of the best men of the age, the brave Sir Richard Grenville, the hero of an heroic age, Cavendish, who circumnavigated the globe, Hariot, the learned mathematician, who, fired with a holy zeal for evangelisation, displayed and explained the Bible in every Indian town he entered, thus doing what the Jesuits and Franciscans did later on in a different way in New France. The life of Raleigh was devoted to schemes of North-American colonisation, and, to show the strength of his faith in them, he sacrificed first his property and then his life to them. For many years he was the brightest star of that galaxy of great men who lived in the stirring times of Queen Elizabeth. In addition to that bull-dog courage which characterised the bold sea-captains of that age, he possessed in more than an ordinary degree light, knowledge, and enthusiasm. Had he turned his attention to the St. Lawrence Valley and to the great inland Lakes of North America as eagerly as he did towards Virginia and Guiana, English colonists would probably have cultivated Lower Canada, explored the Mississippi, and opened up the North-West regions long before the French who, for so many years, seemed to halt at the gateway of the continent.

Lastly, a more general reason to account for the apathy of the English nation in schemes of Canadian colonisation during this unoccupied interval may be found in the great national perils of the age (1558–1588). Sir Edward Creasy in his 'Fifteen Decisive Battles' has

pointed out that previously to the dispersion of the great Armada it was hard to realise the comparative weakness of England side by side with Spain. 'We had then no Indian or Colonial Empire, save the feeble germs of our North American settlements which Raleigh and Gilbert had recently planted. Scotland was a separate kingdom, and Ireland a worse nest of rebellion than she has been in after times. Queen Elizabeth had found an encumbered revenue, a divided people and an unsuccessful foreign war, and she had also a Pretender to her Crown favoured by all the Roman Catholic Powers.' England's hands were indeed full at home.

(7) In 1564 Coligny planted a colony of French Calvinists in Florida, on the banks of the river May, near St. John's Bluff. They were led by a skilful seaman, Laudonnière by name, who had before sailed off the American coast. Coligny had long wished to establish a Protestant French empire in America, and procuring an ample concession from Charles IX, he sent an expedition thither under John Ribault of Dieppe, discovered the St. John's River, and gave the names of Seine, Loire, and Garonne to American rivers. The whole country was named Carolina, after Charles IX. 'But the worst evil in the new settlement was the character of the emigrants. Though patriotism and religious enthusiasm had prompted the expedition, the inferior class of the colonists was a motley group of dissolute men. Mutinies were frequent. The men were mad with the passion for sudden wealth, and a party, under the pretence of desiring to escape from famine, compelled Laudonnière to sign an order permitting their embarkation for New Spain. No sooner were they possessed of this apparent sanction of their chief, than they equipped two vessels, and began a career of piracy against the Spaniards. Thus the French were the aggressors in

the first act of hostility in the New World: an act of crime and temerity which was soon avenged. The pirate vessel was taken, and most of the men disposed of as prisoners and slaves. A few escaped in a boat; these could find no shelter but at Fort Carolina, where Laudonnière sentenced the ringleaders to death[1].' This attempt of French Protestants to found colonies in America, occurring as it does fifty-eight years before the voyage of the Pilgrim Fathers and the beginning of New England, has sometimes been contrasted with it. But the expeditions of Coligny differed widely from the Puritan exodus both in the motives which prompted colonisation, in the character of the emigrants themselves, and their methods of colonisation. The settlement was short-lived, as it incurred the hostility of the Spaniards, who, even in a foreign country, could not brook heretics. An expedition was sent out under the ruthless Pedro Menendez, and came to the Huguenot settlement. When the French colonists enquired his name and mission, he said, 'I am Menendez of Spain, sent with strict orders from my king to gibbet and behead all the Protestants in these regions. The Frenchman who is a Catholic I will spare; every heretic shall die.' The French colony was barbarously destroyed, and Philip II of Spain proclaimed monarch of all North America. The Spanish power was firmly established around Hispaniola. Porto Rico was the centre, and the Gulf of Mexico their *mare clausum*. From the furthest cape of the Caribbean along the shores to the Cape of Florida she was undisputed mistress of sea and land.

(8) The progress of Spain in the south was, as we learn from their annals, one of rapid conquest, animated by the lust of empire. The prizes of victory were gorgeous and great. The wealth of despoiled Mexico and Peru was

[1] Bancroft, vol. i. p. 56.

almost fabulous. In many instances English explorers dreamed like the Spaniards rather of gold mines and jewelled palaces than of the rewards of husbandry. Sir Walter Raleigh's voyage up the Orinoco was made in quest of some fabled Eldorado. From the mind of the Spaniards at the very beginning all thoughts of sober and steady colonisation were banished. Broken adventurers and bankrupt noblemen went to South America to recruit their shattered fortunes by a lucky enterprise. The brave and avaricious Ferdinand Cortez (1518), marching into Mexico, pillaged the rich capital of the Aztecs, and treacherously laid hands upon the aged monarch Montezuma. Further south Pizarro (1527–30) conquered Peru, the rich empire of the Incas. The whole American continent from Mexico to the Straits of Magellan was at their feet, and it seemed as if Pope Alexander's bull, which gave all the world west of the Azores to Spain, was to be literally carried out. When Bilbao, a Spaniard, crossed the Isthmus of Panama and saw the waters of the great Pacific Ocean, he rushed forward and, plunging into the waters, took possession of the ocean in the king's name. Ultimately both Spain and Portugal, like Great Britain, after gaining an American colonial empire for themselves, lost it by their ignorance in the art of governing dependencies so as to keep them in union with the mother-country. But there remain a splendid series of free states from Chili to Mexico, and from the Argentine Republic to the Brazilian Provinces, which in different degrees of prosperity and civilisation attest the courage, the knowledge, the piety and the zeal of the two great generations of Conquistadores and Liberadores.

(9) Together with the first conquests of Spain came the triumphs of geographical discovery. In 1513 an adventurous Spaniard, Juan Ponce de Leon, searching for the fabled fountain of youth, discovered Florida on Easter

Day. Here he became governor, under the condition of colonising his magnificent province, but he failed to do this, and perished afterwards in an attack made upon his position by the Indians. In 1517, Francisco Fernandez, of Cordova, sailing from the port of Havanna, discovered the peninsula of Yucatan and the Bay of Campeachy, and next year his pilot explored the whole coast from Yucatan towards Panuco, bringing back much gold and rumours of the empire of Montezuma. In 1519, Francisco de Garay, a companion of Columbus on his second voyage, and Governor of Jamaica, explored the west of Florida and discovered the Mississippi, called in the first instance the Espiritu Santo. From the Bahamas northward to Carolina, and even to the Bay of Delaware, called in Spanish geography St. Christopher's, the Spaniards conducted their explorations, and in January, 1525, Stephen Gomez, an able Portuguese explorer, sailed as far north as the Hudson in an attempt to find the northern passage to Cathay. But the Spaniards were content to leave the frozen regions of the north to the French and British, whilst they carried on their exploration for rich kingdoms in the warm south. One of their most persevering and intrepid pioneers was Cabeza de Vacca, who, like the Frenchman Champlain, lived amongst the natives, learned their ways, and became a skilful path-finder. He reached Texas, travelled as far north as the Canadian River, lat. 36°, long. 104° W., and wandered on westward till in May, 1536, he drew near to the Pacific Ocean. The narrative of Cabeza de Vacca aroused the enthusiasm of Ferdinand de Soto of Xeres, Pizarro's favourite comrade, who, after terrible wanderings and sufferings in the valley of the Mississippi, died and was buried in the waters of the mighty river itself, bequeathing the honour of discovery and exploration to the Spaniards.

(10) In the north the story of conquest and colonisation reads differently. The native tribes, such as the Iroquois or the Five Nations, were of sterner stuff than the Mexicans in the south. The climate of the north favours natural hardihood and endurance, and more resembles our own 'rough-cradled' homes in the north of Europe. The annals of northern exploration are full of never-ceasing conflict with the natives, unlike those of the ravaging bands of Pizarro, who had only to put out their hands to hold and keep. In both instances the course of conquest had its moral effects. In the north every energy of body and mind was called into requisition to subdue the natives and to till the soil. Frontier life along the Alleghanies and lakes is a continuous record of harrowing cruelties and terrible revenges on both sides.

CHAPTER V.

The Native Races.

(1) The name of Indian given to the tribes of the North American continent seems at first a contradiction of the term, the races of the Indus and of the East being very far removed from the aborigines of America. Searchers after the kingdoms of the East along a North-West Passage thought that in the Caribbean Sea or along the valley of the St. Lawrence they were skirting the fringe of some great Asiatic empire. The name, however, has remained to the inhabitants of the New World. They must be distinguished from the African natives who, being imported into the West Indies and the

United States during the days of slavery, constitute a very large portion of the population now existing.

(2) The following general division of the tribes of the North American continent, with whom the European colonists were brought into contact, includes, *first*, the fishing Eskimo, always found near the coast, and pursuing in their canoes the seal and walrus to the very outside verge of civilisation; *second*, the roving hunters and warriors from the shores of Hudson's Bay to the Gulf of Mexico, keeping the valley of the Mississippi as the western boundary, known as (i) the Algonkins, (ii) Iroquois, (iii) Mobilian groups.

It is just probable that the very first aborigines seen by Cabot were Eskimo. The name, derived from a compound 'Ashkimai,' means *those who eat raw flesh*, and the three natives brought to the court of Henry VII by the Bristol adventurer were described as fully acting up to their name and reputation in this respect. The Eskimo call themselves 'Innuit,' which means *the people*. They do not offer such a distinct study in ethnology as the Bushmen for instance in South Africa, who are a remnant of a former archaic stratum; but their customs, habits, and general way of living are all marked enough to invest them with peculiar interest.

(3) Some maintain that their first home was in Asia, that they crossed Behring Strait, and pursuing their occupation as seal-hunters and fishermen from island to island in the Aleutian group, found their way to the American mainland, across the north of which they spread. Another supposition (Rink's) is that the original Eskimo inhabited the interior of Alaska, while an offshoot of them spread north to Behring Strait and colonised the opposite shores of Asia. The principal tribes, however, following the great rivers in Alaska, as the Athna, Yukon, Selawik, and Colville, settled at their mouths and proceeded around Point

Barrow to the east, to the great Mackenzie river, over the Central Regions or Arctic Archipelago, and finally to Labrador, where our explorers may have met them, and to Greenland. This dispersion may have taken thousands of years, and its direction was from west to east, over 3200 miles from south-east to north-west. It is supposed that they reached Greenland by Grinnell Land and Smith's Sound, which affords a kind of bridge of communication[1].

(4) The Eskimo are now an exclusively maritime and arctic race, being rarely found south of 55° N. latitude. They have no literature or records of their wanderings, and to fix their original habitat it is necessary to study the evidence of their dialects, fishing implements, dwellings and customs. Rink observes that 'the further we go back towards their supposed original country (Alaska), the more of what may be considered their original habits we find still preserved.' Their settlements are few and scattered over an enormous tract of country, and although a singularly homogeneous race, there is little or no real social and political coherence amongst them. Explorers in Labrador and Baffin's Land have recorded that they recognise the distinction of tribes, the leaders of which are experts in fishing and sailing, and are called Pimmains. The Labrador Eskimo call their chiefs Angajorkak (conjurers), and their authority is confined to the bay or fiord where each group lives. If there are any grades of civilisation amongst the Eskimo, the advantage lies with the western offshoots in Alaska. They have been arranged into the following divisions by Rink:—

I. *Western Eskimo*, consisting (*a*) of southern tribes, numbering about 8300; (*b*) northern, numbering 2900; (*c*) Asiatic, numbering about 2000.

[1] See Appendix i.

II. *Mackenzie River Eskimo.* These are separated from the western by an uninhabited coast-line of 300 miles, on which they meet together every summer for the sake of bartering.

III. *Tribes of Central Region*, beginning at Cape Bathurst, long. 128° W., and living in regions explored by Franklin, Parry, Ross, Richardson, Rae, McClintock, and Back, numbering about 4000.

IV. *The Labradorians*, separated from the former by a difficult sound. Upon the east coast of Labrador the Eskimo number 1500, of whom 1100 are Christianised.

V. *The Greenlanders* and tribes around Smith's Sound. The character of the Eskimo is well known to us through the numerous descriptions of our arctic explorers, but they have nothing to do with the making of European history in North America.

(5) Besides the Eskimo, the aboriginal inhabitants of Newfoundland, called the Beothuks, deserve a passing notice. It has been ascertained from a comparative study of North American languages, that these Beothuks constitute a separate aboriginal race. Their language is different from Innuit [Eskimo], and is not the same as that of the neighbouring Red Indian tribes. Being an island tribe they did not mix freely with the tribes of the continent. They were on friendly terms with a Labrador race called the Shaumanunes, and both combined in despising the Eskimo. Unlike the latter, who were generally of a small and dwarfed appearance, the aborigines of Newfoundland were physically a fine race[1]. It has been suggested that they were driven over originally from Nova Scotia and Cape Breton by the Micmacs, an Algonkin tribe. According to the testimony of Captain Richard Whitbourne, who went on the famous expedition

[1] Nineteenth Century, December, 1888.

to Newfoundland in 1583 with Sir Humphrey Gilbert, the Beothuks had free intercourse with the French fishermen, and did not hide in terror, as they did afterwards, from the European. They were never numerous, and in Cartwright's voyage and explorations through Newfoundland in 1768 they are represented as a scattered race not exceeding 500 individuals. More provident than many of their continental neighbours, they made provision for the winter, and the vast number of Cariboo with which the island abounded gave them abundance of venison. This they stored away late in the autumn, and preserved as frozen meat during the long winter, anticipating in their primitive way the method of food supply now prevalent throughout the world. In a somewhat similar way, it may be remarked that the Kaffirs of South Africa, in storing their corn in mealie-pits, have known and practised from time immemorial the principle of the silo. The Beothuks are described as using a primitive vapour bath, a custom prevalent among the Eskimo of the American arctic regions and the Red Indians, and they used to ruddle their bodies with red ochre. They seem to have been treated with great cruelty by the Newfoundland fishermen, who drove them for refuge either to the inhospitable marshes and lagoons of the interior of Newfoundland, or across the straits of Belle Isle to the coast of Labrador. The last instance of a Beothuk being seen alive by Europeans was in 1828.

(6) The North American tribes best known in Canadian history are the Algonkins, Hurons, and Iroquois. There is not a page of early records or an incident of Jesuit travel or adventure but contains some reference to these natives. The Huron Mission was in itself a distinct epoch of colonisation (1640–50). For an historical purpose they may be distinguished from the Chickasaws, Choctaws and Cherokees of the regions further south, now occupied by

the United States, and also from the more recently-known tribes of the western prairies and of British Columbia. The history of Canada was at one time simply a narrative of continual warfare and hostility with these tribes, who guarded the entrance westward to the prairie regions. The Algonkins took the side of the French and the Iroquois that of the British, generally speaking; but the real nature of the warfare, underlying all partisanship, was civilisation against barbarism, and European rule and law against the untutored régime of the wild nomads. Not till Pontiac's conspiracy of 1763[1] was crushed did the conflict really cease. All these natives were hunters who lived almost entirely by the proceeds of the chase, and developed a hardiness of frame and a physical endurance unsurpassed by any other nation. Amongst them all there prevailed a distinct organisation. 'Each tribe was split into families, and these tribes, by the exigencies of the hunter's life, were again subdivided into sub-tribes, bands, or villages, often scattered far asunder over a wide extent of wilderness. They all abhorred restraint, and were endued with wild notions of liberty. Each tribe had a sachem or civil chief, whose office was in a certain sense hereditary and descended in the female line. This office was no enviable one, as there were no laws to administer and no power to enforce commands. The councillors were the inferior chiefs and principal men of the tribe. The sachem never set himself in opposition to the popular will, which is the sovereign power of these savage democracies. His province was to advise, not to dictate. A clear distinction, however, was observed between civil and military authority, and the Indian village was kept together by mutual self-control[2].' Indian communities, independently of local distribution into tribes, are composed of distinct clans related by blood through female

[1] See Appendix ii.

[2] Parkman's Conspiracy of Pontiac.

descent. Each clan has its emblem or crest, some adopting the bear, others the otter, others the wolf, etc., and these emblems are known by the name of 'Totems.' Members of the same clan cannot intermarry, and there exists a blood-feud or vendetta obligatory upon all members of the same Totem. The North American aborigines were never very numerous, and it is calculated in Bancroft's History of the United States, that there were, two hundred years ago, no more than 180,000 distributed over the vast spaces of country reaching from the shores of Hudson's Bay to the Mississippi Valley.

(7) It will be easily seen how utterly different the aborigines of British North America have been from such a power, for instance, as that of the Bantû race in South Africa. In Zululand the dynasty of Chaka and Cetywayo, handed on in the male line, was kept together by the sternest military discipline. The king, as paramount chief with a solid army of 40,000 warriors, was acknowledged by all, and his 'word' was law absolutely and finally. The Kaffirs have met the British as a highly organised and effective force, strong in numbers and discipline, bold in battle and reckless of life to an extreme, hurling themselves in battalions upon well-armed European troops. They were never, as a race, mean, cruel, or vindictive. They were either open enemies or loyal friends. When once conquered there was an end of all ambuscades and treachery, and they proved themselves to be willing learners from their conquerors. The North American Indian was very different. His arts were especially those of craft, cruelty, and dissimulation, relieved only here and there by acts of chivalry and courtesy. In his defiance of pain and physical suffering he had no equal, but the tortures he inflicted on others were diabolical. He has proved himself almost incapable of Western civilisation, and as the

game has disappeared he has gone with it. In the desolate regions of snow and ice he has been a great auxiliary to the European and half-breed as hunter and trapper. In the history of the Hudson's Bay Company he holds a conspicuous place.

(8) The *Algonkins* numbered about 90,000. It was an Algonkin that Cartier met on the St. Lawrence, and Algonkins that the early explorers along the maritime regions first saw. Their language was heard from the Bay of Gaspé to the valley of the Des Moines, from Cape Fear to the land of the Eskimo, from Kentucky to the southern bank of the Mississippi, that is over 60 of longitude and 20° of latitude. They constituted in themselves half of the whole estimated population.

Some of their numerous tribes were (1) the Micmacs, who lived around the Bay of Gaspé and along the shores of Nova Scotia; (2) The Abenakis, who inhabited the banks of the Penobscot; (3) the Massachusetts, the original inhabitants of the bay that bears their name; (4) the Narragansetts, who held dominion over Rhode Island and part of Long Island; (5) the Pequods, with whom the New Englanders were first brought into contact; (6) the Manhattans, on New York Island; (7) the Shawnees, in the basin of the Cumberland River; (8) the Miamis, whose home was first at Detroit, then along the Ohio to Lake Michigan; (9) the Ottawas, or Traders, in the basin of the great river that bears their name; (10) the Illinois occupied the country between the Wabash, Ohio, and Mississippi: it is calculated that the Indians scattered through the country now included in the states of Ohio, Michigan, Indiana, Illinois, and Kentucky, did not exceed more than 18,000 at the time of the discovery of America; (11) the Ojibways occupied the country from the north of Green Bay to the head-waters of Lake Superior; (12) the Sacs and Foxes roamed over the

country between the Wisconsin and the upper branches of the Illinois, and held the passes from Green Bay and Fox River to the Mississippi ; (13) on the prairies east of the Mississippi lived the Sioux or Dakotas. Their range was from Saskatchewan to lands south of the Arkansas, but with the early history of Canada they have little to do[1].

(9) *Hurons* or *Wyandots.* These tribes spoke a kindred language with the Iroquois, and inhabited the peninsula between Lakes Huron, Erie, and Ontario. Thither the Franciscans and Jesuits travelled at a very early period. They resembled the Iroquois in their dwelling-houses, their palisaded forts, and clan system, although they were not confederated. Their numbers were about 20,000. They were conquered in 1649 by the Iroquois, who invaded them in the depth of winter, and by attacks and surprises scattered their clans, some finding refuge with the French near Quebec, where their descendants still live at a place called Lorette, others retiring along Lake Superior. From the west they were driven back by the fierce buffalo hunters and roving tribes of the west, and found their way to Detroit about 1680, where they made a permanent settlement.

(10) The *Iroquois* or *Five Nations,* viz. Mohawks, Oneidas, Onondagas, Cayugas, and Senecas, stretched from Lake Ontario to the sources of the Ohio, Susquehannah, and the Delaware. We hear of the Iroquois or Five Nations more than any other native tribes in the conflict between French and English. When the Tuscaroras, a tribe of North Carolina, became merged with them, they were known as *the Six Nations* (1714).

The Iroquois were, according to Parkman, foremost in war, foremost in eloquence, foremost in savage acts, and extended their depredations from Quebec to the Carolinas,

[1] See Appendix iii.

and from the western prairies to the forests of Maine. On the south they forced tribute from the Delawares, and pierced to the fastnesses of the Cherokees, who lived in the upper valley of the Tennessee River and the highlands of Carolina, Georgia, and Alabama. On the north they uprooted the ancient settlements of the kindred tribes of the Hurons, living between Lakes Huron, Erie, and Ontario; on the west they exterminated the Eries and Andastes, and spread destruction amongst the Illinois. They were the conquering tribe of North America, and they owed their triumphs partly to their advanced organisation, partly to their indomitable courage, and partly to the geographical position of the country they lived in. They dwelt within the present limits of the state of New York, where there is easy access to other parts of North America by means of lakes and rivers. The era of their confederacy was about 1500, just 100 years before the Dutch founded New York (1609), and they do not boast of a history before this. The mainstay of Iroquois polity was the system of Totems. There were eight Totem clans which ran through the five confederate tribes, constituting a double bond between them. Each tribe had a sachem, who managed its internal affairs; but when foreign affairs were dealt with a general council was held in the Valley of Onondaga. The Iroquois had few positive beliefs, but many traditions and superstitions. They believed in a Great Spirit, in a God of the Waters, who descended to the world to teach people. Under the Falls of Niagara they believed that the Spirit of Thunder dwelt in company with his giant brood, and in the forests they conjured up terrible forms of wild beasts, monsters, and serpents. In Lake Ontario there existed a horned serpent of portentous size and power. Once a two-headed serpent, so the myth ran, ravaged the land and destroyed the people till killed by the

magic arrow of a child. The poet Longfellow has described in 'Hiawatha' the life, ideas and romance of the race, their stern courage and occasional tenderness, their mysticism, religion, and strange personification of nature. The life of the Iroquois was one of sharp excitement and sudden contrasts. In the chase, on the war-path, at the festival, with games of hazard, dances and orgies, they practised and exhausted their native energy. They cultivated maize, and in 1696 Count Frontenac, the Governor of Canada, found miles of cultivated fields extending from their villages. Notwithstanding their widespread victories it is calculated that the Iroquois warriors never exceeded 4000.

(11) Such, however, was the desolating activity of the Iroquois bands that it took them only twenty-five years (1650–1675) to utterly destroy the clans of the Hurons, Neutrals, Andastes and Eries. After conquest they made no attempt at re-organisation or a military system. They were the worst of conquerors, and left behind them the most complete ruin and devastation. The Iroquois formed an island, as it were, in the vast expanse of the Algonkin population, which extended from Hudson's Bay to Carolina.

(12) The North American Indians were entirely different from the natives of Mexico and Peru, with whom the Spaniards were brought into contact. The Peruvians were a civilised nation with a central worship. The Temple of the Sun, their deity, at Cuzco, was their national shrine ; the Inca or king, their hereditary ruler of divine origin, to whose support one third of the land was devoted. The Mexican empire, with its capital of 60,000 people, and cultivated territories extending in the reign of Montezuma 500 leagues from east to west, and more than 200 leagues from north to south, was no less wonderful. Yet both these kingdoms fell

before the Spaniards almost at the first blast of the trumpet. The Iroquois were unwearying foes, their 'braves' acting singly or in small parties, unlike the Zulu 'impis' or regiments. In craft they were superior, in endurance equal to the Zulus. For both, hardihood was the first virtue; for both, the simple diet of mealies or Indian corn sufficed; for both, the council (in Kaffir land the Pitso) gave opportunities for stirring eloquence to chiefs and elders, and over both the sorcerer or witch-doctor exercised his weird power. In both races a strange Spirit-worship, amongst Indians the Manitou-worship, prevailed. The Manitou might be a bird, a buffalo, a feather, a skin.

(13) The Indian warrior is not only idle at intervals, —when not on the chase or foray,—but he is proud of this idleness. Woman is the labourer, and bears the burden of life and dies in hardship, as Wordsworth has described her in his poem on the 'Complaint of a Forsaken Indian Woman.' His picture is to a great extent true, only the Indian woman, being left behind to die from exhaustion, would not have complained. That would have been undignified. During the mild season there was little suffering, but thrift was wanting, and winter came upon them unprepared. This is a picture of the winter and of the summer life of these North American tribes:—

'In the calm days of summer the Ojibwa fisherman pushes his birch canoe upon the great inland ocean of the north, and, as he gazes down into the pellucid depths, he seems like one balanced between earth and heaven. The watchful fish-hawk circles above his head, and below, further than his line will reach, he sees the trout glide shadowy and silent over the glimmering pebbles. The little islands on the verge of the horizon seem now starting into spires, now melting from the sight, now shaping themselves into a thousand fantastic forms with the

strange mirage of the waters; and he fancies that the evil spirits of the lake lie basking their serpent forms on those unhallowed shores. Again, he explores the watery labyrinths where the stream sweeps amongst pine-tufted islands, or runs, black and deep, beneath the shadows of moss-bearded firs; or he drags his canoe upon the sandy beach, and while his camp-fire crackles on the grass-plat, reclines beneath the trees and smokes and laughs away the sultry hours in a lazy luxury of enjoyment.

'But when winter descends upon the earth, sealing the fountains, fettering the stream, and turning the green-robed forests to a shivering, naked wilderness, then, bearing their fragile dwellings on their backs, the Ojibwa family wander forth into the wilderness, cheered only on their dreary track by the whistling of the north-east wind and the hungry cry of wolves. By the banks of some frozen stream, women and children, men and dogs lie crouched together around the fire. They spread their benumbed fingers over the embers, while the wind shrieks through the fir-trees like the gale through the rigging of a frigate, and the narrow concave of the wigwam sparkles with the frost-work of their congealed breath. In vain they beat the magic drum and call upon the guardian Manitou—the wary moose keeps aloof; the bear lies close in his hollow tree, and famine stares them in the face. And now the hunter can fight no more against the nipping cold and blinding sleet. Still and stark, with haggard cheek and shrivelled lips, he lies amongst the snow-drifts; till with tooth and claw the famished wild cat strives in vain to pierce the frigid marble of limbs. Such harsh treatment is thrown away on the Indian; he lives in misery as his father lived before him[1]'.

(14) In the peninsula of Florida in the sixteenth century there were three Indian confederacies of the

[1] Parkman's Conspiracy of Pontiac.

Mobilian group : (i) that of Salouriana ; (ii) of Thimagoa under a chief named Outina, living in forty villages ; (iii) that of king Panaroo, all at deadly enmity with one another. Their social state was more advanced than that of the wandering tribes of the north, and around their villages, made of huts thatched with palmetto, could often be seen the fertile fields of maize, beans, and pumpkins. Here the climate was milder and the conditions of life easier. In the midst of this village, protected occasionally by palisades and approached by devious avenues, dwelt the chief of the tribe, holding hereditary office ; differing in this respect from the wild hunting tribes of the north. Although these tribes and confederacies existed in the days of René de Laudonnière, the great French explorer and colonist (1564), they are all extinct now. The attack of the Spaniards coming from Pensacola upon the village of Mobile (1540), in which 2500 Indians were slain, suffocated or burnt, was one of the most murderous Indian fights ever known on North American soil [1].

CHAPTER VI.

Champlain and the Rule of the Hundred Associates.

(1) In the reign of Henry IV of France (1598), about fifty years after Cartier's last expedition, a commission was given to the Marquis de la Roche, a nobleman of Brittany. He was styled Viceroy of Canada, Acadie and the

[1] Parkman's Pioneers of France.

adjoining territories, with sole right to carry on the fur-trade within the bounds of his domain, or rather Empire as we might almost term it. Searching for a suitable place for settlement, the Marquis left forty of his crew, who were convicts and gaol-birds, on Sable Island, an island off the coast of Nova Scotia. He himself, however, encountered such tempestuous weather that he was driven away from the coast and forced to return to France, leaving his wretched followers on Sable Island. Exposed to tremendous privations they all died with the exception of a miserable remnant of twelve, who managed to find their way back to France and tell their piteous tale of suffering. The Marquis who had set out with such remarkable promise, was upon his return thrown into prison, where he lingered for many years.

(2) In 1599 another expedition was organised by Chauvin of Rouen, a naval officer, and by Pontgrave a sailor merchant of St. Malo, who obtained a monopoly of the Canadian fur-trade from King Henry, and undertook to establish a colony of 500 persons. Two vessels were equipped in the spring of 1600, and a party of settlers landed at Tadousac. It was found impossible for the whole party to winter there, so a small remnant of sixteen colonists was left behind. Being unprepared in food or clothing to face the rigours of a Canadian winter, they were reduced to great straits, and were obliged to throw themselves upon the charity and hospitality of the Indians. Not long afterwards, during a third voyage to Tadousac, Chauvin himself, the leader of the expedition, was taken ill and died.

(3) He was succeeded in his enterprise, which was in reality a very lucrative fur-trade with the Indians, by de Chaste, the Governor of Dieppe. De Chaste prevailed upon several wealthy merchants to take the matter up, and enlisted in his service a most valuable auxiliary, Samuel

Champlain, who may be termed the father of French colonisation in Canada. He explored the country up the St. Lawrence as far as the Sault St. Louis, where he was stopped by the rapids. He thus followed in the wake of Cartier, who had in 1535 described the Huron village of Hochelaga, and had given the name of Mount Royal (Montreal) to the mountain behind the village. From the summit of this mountain the eyes of the first explorers must have been greeted with a most wild and magnificent view. On all sides spread miles of interminable forests, between which the great St. Lawrence flowed majestically, showing the paths to a vast and unexplored region in the distant west, whence it gathered its mighty flood.

(4) Upon his return to France, Champlain found that de Chaste, the patron of the enterprise, had died, and that the Company had broken up. He was determined, however, not to lose the fruits of his enterprise, and went to Paris and laid before King Henry a chart of the country he had seen. He was graciously received, and the scheme of de Chaste was taken up by de Monts, a Calvinist gentleman of great wealth, who was in favour at the Court of Henry. There was toleration at this time for both Catholics and Protestants in France. De Monts was allowed the free exercise of his Calvinistic faith, with instructions, at the same time, to forward the Roman Catholic religion amongst the natives. This kingly toleration, contrasted with what had gone before and with what was to follow afterwards, was like a gleam of light on troubled waters.

(5) The Sieur de Monts was given great powers and large concessions. His patent included all the country between the fortieth and forty-sixth degree of latitude, namely, from Philadelphia to Montreal, with a monopoly of the fur-trade and supreme governing powers.

De Monts set sail with a larger expedition than had ever yet gone to Canada (March, 1604), and after examining the coast of Nova Scotia, wintered on the Island of St. Croix, near the mouth of a river of that name. In the spring of 1605 de Monts removed to Port Royal on the Bay of Fundy, where a Frenchman named Poutrincourt had already formed a settlement. In later times Port Royal and the Harbour of Annapolis were destined to be the scene of many conflicts between French and English. In 1605 de Monts explored the country to the south, and claimed the rivers, especially the Merrimac, and the bays as far as Cape Cod, for France, but no French colony within the borders of what is now United States territory was founded until 1615. On the eastern shore of Mount-desert Isle, a fort was raised at St. Sauveur by a Frenchman of the name of de Saussaye. This was meant to be a missionary outpost rather than a colony, and had the support of Mary de Medicis. 'The conversion of the heathen was the motive of the settlement; the natives venerated Biart, the Jesuit Father, as a messenger from heaven; and under the summer sky, round a cross in the centre of the hamlet, matins and vespers were regularly chanted[1].'

(6) It was the object of de Monts to develop the resources of Acadia, but Champlain advocated the claims of Canada, as the basin of the St. Lawrence was then called. There was a prevalent idea in the minds of the explorers of that age, that Asia could be reached by a short water route across the American continent, and the Lachine rapids were so named from the belief that beyond them was the way to China. With Champlain lies the honour of founding Quebec. 'On the 3rd of July, 1608, he fixed upon a promontory covered with a luxuriant growth of vines and shaded by some noble walnut-trees, called by the natives Quebio or Quebec, not far distant from the spot where,

[1] Bancroft, vol i. 20.

ACADIA AND NEWFOUNDLAND 1534-1745.

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sixty-seven years before, Cartier had erected a fort and passed a winter. Rude buildings of wood were first erected on the high grounds to offer shelter to his men, and when these were completed an embankment was formed, above the reach of the tide, on which the houses and battery were built[1].'

(7) For many years from this date the history of French colonisation is mainly a record of Champlain's life. The partnership, if it may be so called, between him and de Monts ended in 1611, when the latter, upon the occasion of his appointment to the Governorship of Saintonge, excused himself from North American adventures. He committed everything in his power to Champlain, and advised him to seek some powerful patron. He found such a patron in the Count de Soissons, who obtained the title of Lieutenant-General of New France, and then delegated the functions of this high office to Champlain. The Count dying shortly afterwards, Champlain found a still more powerful patron in the Prince of Condé. Practically speaking, the energetic Champlain had a free hand to act as he pleased in North America.

(8) In 1613, Champlain undertook a new work of exploration to the north of the St. Lawrence. He had already done much on the south. In 1609 he had diverged into the Richelieu River, after traversing Lake St. Peter, and discovered Lake Champlain and Lake George, in what is now the State of Vermont. In this expedition he had been greatly assisted by the Algonkins, who were at deadly enmity with the Iroquois or Five Nations. Like other successful explorers, Champlain had the power of gaining the confidence of the natives with whom he was brought into contract. His friends the Algonkins had imparted to him much valuable information respecting the geography of the continent. They

[1] Macmullen's History of Canada, p. 12.

seem to have been acquainted with the general character of the country down the valley of the Mississippi, as far south as the Gulf of Mexico.

(9) His expedition to the north was prompted chiefly by the report of a man named Vignau, who had lived among the Indians, and had accompanied Champlain on his travels. Far to the north he said the Ottawa (the river of the Algonkins) issued from a lake connected with the North Sea. On the shores of this sea Vignau reported having seen the wreck of an English vessel. The crew, eighty in number, had reached the land, but had all been killed and scalped by the natives, excepting a boy who was kept by them. Champlain was induced to believe this story as he had heard that some English vessels had been wrecked on the coasts of Labrador, and there appeared to be no great reason for Vignau's propagation of a false rumour. Champlain accordingly set out upon his Ottawa expedition, and after suffering great hardships was compelled to return with the conviction that Vignau had deceived him. The journey, however, was not without its results, and was the prelude to a far more fruitful and important one in 1615. In this year he followed the course of the Ottawa for a long distance, and then taking advantage of numerous small lakes and portages reached Lake Nipissing. From this point Champlain followed the course of the French River to Georgian Bay, which he crossed near the Great Manitoulin Island, and entered Lake Huron, described by himself as 'a fresh-water sea, 300 leagues in length by 50 in breadth.' He coasted this lake for several leagues, and turning a point near its extremity, struck into the interior with a view of reaching Cahiaqua. Thence he found his way to Lake St. Clair, near the site of the present city of Detroit. This was the furthest point of exploration. But the geographical results gained were very important. The

way to the west by the Ottawa, Nipissing Lake and Lake Huron had been opened up, and the existence of these vast sheets of fresh water confirmed. Champlain had obtained the key to the Far West. But it was not gained without infinite risk and trouble. He was compelled to take a part in the eternal feud between the Algonkins and Iroquois: at Lake St. Clair he was twice wounded in the leg in a conflict with the latter, and during the return journey, which was little better than a flight from them, was carried a great distance, and with agony and pain to himself, as a wounded and disabled man. He returned to Quebec in July, 1616.

(10) For ten years after this expedition Samuel Champlain, nothing daunted by the difficulties of his task, which arose quite as much from the apathy or open opposition of his countrymen as from the natural obstacles of the country, prosecuted his projects of Canadian exploration and colonisation. There was no overflow of population from France to the new country, and towards the close of 1621 the European settlers of Canada are said to have numbered only forty-eight souls.

(11) In 1627 the former Charters given by the kings of France were cancelled, chiefly through the advice of Cardinal Richelieu, and the fortunes of the French Empire in North America handed over to a Company of a Hundred Associates, of which it was natural that Samuel Champlain should be the leading spirit. The Associates held power over a vast extent of country from Florida to Hudson's Bay, claiming the sole right of trading and fishing, except the cod and whale fisheries; and, in return for this huge commercial monopoly, were bound to settle 6000 colonists within fifteen years, and provide them with a sufficient number of clergy. A new era was to begin. The Association was partly commercial and partly missionary in its objects, and included

amongst its members, not only Cardinal Richelieu and Champlain, but many noblemen and rich merchants. New France, according to the Charter of Louis XIII, meant the basin of the St. Lawrence and of such other rivers as flowed directly into the sea. It also included Florida, by virtue of Coligny's attempts to plant a Huguenot colony there (1564). This new Company, whose main object was genuine colonisation and settlement, undertook definitely to send out 300 tradesmen first of all, and to find them with tools and food and all the necessaries of life for three years. This clause in the Royal Charter enjoining upon the Company colonisation in most express terms, indicates the weak point in the French system. The French people had not followed in the wake of explorers; they had not migrated willingly and in large numbers; they had not shown the desired attributes of a colonising people, and this Company was formed to inaugurate and guide a national exodus. It was in fact an Emigration Society with most ample means and under the best patronage. For each settlement three priests were 'established' in the technical sense. They were to receive and to be endowed with cleared lands, and the Catholic Church in New France became a State Church. The office of Viceroyalty, which had existed for eighty-six years (1541–1627), was abolished, and Champlain was made Governor.

(12) Misfortunes, however, overtook New France at the very beginning. In 1628 Sir David Kirke with an English squadron captured the first ships laden with stores for the emigrants, and in 1629 the English took Quebec and held Canada until 1632, when by the treaty of St. Germain-en-Laye, Canada (meaning the valley of the St. Lawrence), Acadia and Cape Breton were restored to France. This was the time of domestic embarrassment in England during the reign of Charles I, and France

profited by it, but only for a time. The Commonwealth was destined to bring a more active imperial spirit and develop, under the famous Robert Blake, England's maritime power. In New France Champlain was reinstated with full powers as Governor of Canada, and it seemed as if, now at last, he was destined to carry out his lifelong projects, and build up a colonial empire in North America. Immediately upon his appointment he began to address himself seriously to the task before him, and in the following year he came to Quebec with stores and a number of settlers. But on Christmas Day, 1635, he died.

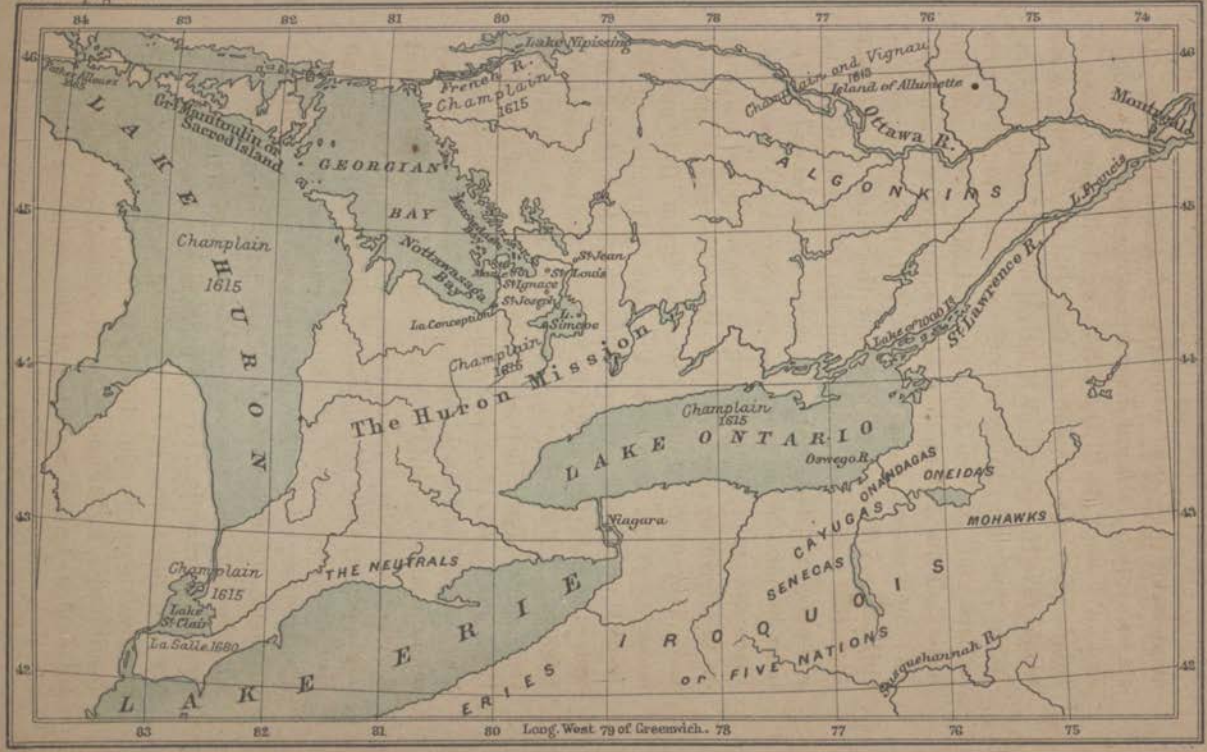
(13) Champlain was, perhaps, the most intrepid of the French explorers of North America. He carried with him in his great task a spirit of enthusiasm and devotion. His religious zeal, like that of many of the men of his day, was extreme, and he is said to have 'esteemed the salvation of a soul worth more than the conquest of an empire.' Champlain utilised the services of the Franciscans, an order noted for their simple and austere habits, and he regarded them as fitting instruments to send as pioneers into a new country, as 'they were free from ambition.' But afterwards the task of converting the Indians and spreading the light of the Gospel among the great lakes was entrusted to the Jesuits solely as being better instruments. Perhaps the main feature of the Associates' rule is the impulse given to missionary enterprise.

(14) Within thirteen years (1634–1647) the Huron country was visited by forty-two missionaries, members of the Society of Jesus, all fired with zeal and ready to lay down their lives for the cause. Two or three times a year they all met at St. Mary's, their central station, upon the banks of a river now called Wye. In 1640 Montreal, the site of which had been already indicated by Champlain in 1611, was founded, that there might be a nearer

rendezvous than Quebec for the converted Indians. At its occupation a solemn mass was celebrated under a tent, and in France itself the following February a general supplication was offered up that the Queen of Angels would take the Island of Montreal under her protection. In the August of this year a general meeting of French settlers and Indians took place at Montreal, and the festival of the Assumption was solemnised at the island. The new crusading spirit took full possession of the enthusiastic French people, and the niece of Cardinal Richelieu founded a hospital for the natives between the Kennebec and Lake Superior, to which young and nobly-born hospital nuns from Dieppe offered their services. Plans were made for establishing mission posts, not only on the north amongst the Algonkins, but to the south of Lake Huron, in Michigan and at Green Bay, and so on as far as the regions to the west. The maps of the Jesuits prove that before 1660 they had traced the waters of Lake Erie and Lake Superior and had seen Lake Michigan. The Huron mission embraced principally the country lying between Lake Simcoe and Georgian Bay, building its stations on the rivers and shores.

(15) But the French missionaries, however much they might desire it, could not keep outside the intertribal strifes of the natives around them. Succeeding to Champlain's policy, they continued to aid the Algonkins and Hurons against their inveterate enemies the Iroquois. The Iroquois retaliated by the most horrible cruelty and revenge. There was no peace along the borders of this wild country, and missionaries and colonists carried their lives in their hands. In 1648 St. Joseph, a Huron mission town on the shores of Lake Simcoe, was burned down and destroyed by the Iroquois, and Père Daniel, the Jesuit leader, killed under circumstances of great atrocity. In 1649 St. Ignace, a station at the corner of Georgian

THE HURON MISSION-1640.



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Bay, was sacked, and there the pious Brebeuf met his end, after having suffered the most horrible tortures the Indians could invent. Brebeuf, after being hacked in the face and burnt all over the body with torches and red-hot iron, was scalped alive, and died after three hours' suffering. His companion, the gentle Gabriel Lallemand, endured terrible tortures for seventeen hours. Two missionary heroes, Charles Raymbault and Isaac Jogues, deserve mention as men who were willing to sacrifice themselves for their great cause. These men passed on westward over the clear waters and amongst the beautiful islands of Lake Huron, to the Straits which form the outlet of Lake Superior. There they met savages who had never seen Europeans, and there they heard of the famed Sioux who dwelt beyond the Great Lake. Jogues was taken captive by the Mohawks, and lived amongst them and acquired a kind of ascendancy over them. But for some time the French were excluded from Lakes Ontario and Erie owing to the hostility of this tribe. Their way to the West was by the Ottawa and French River, and so by Lake Huron.

(16) The French Governors who succeeded Champlain were men of probity and worth, but they lacked his courage and enthusiasm. His immediate successor, M. de Montmagny (1637), was fortunate enough to win the respect of the colonists, Indians, and the French Court as well. For a long time he was held up as the model of a Colonial Governor. But the usual limit assigned to the office was only three years, and in the midst of his good work M. de Montmagny was recalled, and the threads of his policy given into the hands of M. de Aillebousť. This Governor had already some knowledge of Canada, as he had been military commandant at Three Rivers. One of his chief desires was to form a perpetual alliance with the New England colonies on the coast, and with this object in view he despatched an agent to Boston. But

as one of the terms of the alliance was a combination against the 'Five Nations,' the negotiations, which were conceived in a selfish spirit, fell through. This attempt to crush them aroused the wrath of the Iroquois, and made them more bitter foes to French rule than they were before. M. de Ailleboust was succeeded by M. de Lauson (1651), M. de Argenson and M. de Avaugour, the last under the régime of the Hundred Associates. As a trading and a colonising Company, the Associates, in spite of good Governors and large concessions, had been a failure. We cannot but contrast it and its meagre results with the Hudson's Bay Company (1660), which in a measure succeeded it. No doubt there were strong and sufficient reasons for its failure. It had exasperated the natives with a mistaken policy, and it had demoralised them with brandy,—Fire-water, as the Indians called it,—to the righteous indignation of the clergy. Chiefly at the suggestion of Bishop Laval, the king of France cancelled the Charter of the Company,—which had dwindled down to less than half its original number,—and brought the whole territory under direct Crown rule.

(17) Just before their reign expired (1660), the English colonists proposed to the Governor of French Canada that the colonies of France and England should take no part in the quarrels of the mother-countries, but should live and trade in peace. Beyond the seas the hatchet was to be buried, and the emigrants of the two great Western Powers of Europe were to approach, hand in hand, Catholics as well as Protestants, the work of reclaiming the Continent. This suggestion was far wiser and more reasonable than that of De Ailleboust, whose main object was the subjection of the Iroquois. But it was impossible on the face of it, and a colonial policy could never, in those days, be dissociated from a home policy. Canada was destined to be one of the chosen battle-fields of England and France.

Above all others there was the great question of the supremacy of the seas, which was ever a sore point between the two countries.

CHAPTER VII.

New France and New England.

(1) At the time of Champlain's death the French population consisted of several small settlements extending from Tadousac to Lachine, the most important of which were at Quebec and the Three Rivers. In Acadia, including the provinces now called New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, there were only a few ports along the coast, or at the mouths of rivers. This was the extent of New France in 1635, exactly a hundred years after the expedition (1535) of Jacques Cartier up the St. Lawrence. Not a very great result for a hundred years, although kings and ministers had from the beginning entertained magnificent ideas of what their North American empire should be. Was it really fated to be only a magnificent dream after all, and was the 'Viceroyalty of Canada, Acadie and the adjoining territories,' as given to De La Roche in 1598 by Royal Charter, to dwindle down to a few outposts? Although the French have been successful colonists along the valley of the St. Lawrence, especially since they were freed from the control and government of their officials from the mother-country (1763), still it must be acknowledged that they were slow and unprogressive at first.

(2) We have only to contrast their position at Champlain's death with that of the English further south. We find the following: *Virginia*, 1607; *Massachusetts*, settled by the 'Pilgrim Fathers,' 1620; *New Hampshire*, 1623; *Maine*, 1625; *Rhode Island*, settled from Massachusetts in 1631; *Maryland*, settled under Lord Baltimore, 1634; *Connecticut*, settled from Massachusetts, 1635. Of the others, *New York* was settled by the Dutch in 1609, and *New Jersey* and *Delaware* founded by Dutch and Swedes in 1627. Here was a group of bonâ fide Plantations rooted in the soil, and not simply trusting to fur-trading with the natives, but developing the soil by hard work. It may be truly said that within thirty years the English had done far more to colonise the country in the true sense of the word than the French had done in a hundred years. The latter were often dependent upon the mother-country for supplies.

(3) British colonisation in North America began first of all, as we have seen, with private enterprise. Individuals set out on voyages of discovery at their own cost and peril. Frequently they held in their hands ample Charters from the Crown, but the power as well as the opportunity lay in private hands alone. Sir Humphrey Gilbert's Charter (June, 1578) empowered him 'from time to time and at all times for ever hereafter to discover . . . such remote heathen and barbarous lands . . . not actually possessed of any Christian prince or people, as to him, his heirs, and assigns . . . shall seem good, and the same to have, hold, occupy and enjoy to him, his heirs and assigns, for ever, with all commodities, jurisdictions and royalties both by sea and land.' Many private gentlemen associated themselves under this ample Charter with Sir Humphrey Gilbert, and the result of it was, in 1583, the formal possession of Newfoundland. It was on August 5 that Sir Humphrey Gilbert, in the presence of the

assembled merchants and fishermen of all nations, opened and read his Commission. By virtue of it he assumed possession of the government of St. John's and the adjoining shores to the extent of 200 leagues. He required from all present in token of submission the ancient symbols of turf and twig; he granted several lots of land in consideration of rent and services, laid a tax upon shipping, established the Church of England, and declared the general supremacy of British law. Offences against the name and rule of Queen Elizabeth were severely punished. It was enacted that if any person should utter words sounding to the dishonour of Her Majesty, he should lose his ears and have his ship and goods confiscated. In the port of St. John's there were no fewer than forty sail of fishing ships of all nationalities, French, English, Portuguese, and Spanish. The vessels of Sir Humphrey Gilbert's expedition were the Delight, the Golden Hind, the Swallow and the Squirrel. The flag of England waved over the newly-acquired land, and a wooden pillar was erected on which were attached the arms of England engraved on lead. There were two notable companions in the enterprise who were witnesses of the ceremony, Captain Hayes, of the Golden Hind, and Captain Richard Whitbourne, of Exmouth in Devonshire. Sir Walter Raleigh, who was half-brother of the admiral, adventured £2000 towards the expedition. It was on his return voyage that the gallant Sir H. Gilbert went down in a heavy sea with all hands in the Squirrel, a small vessel of ten tons; his last recorded utterance being those well-known words, which he spoke sitting abaft with a book in his hand, 'Be of good heart, my friends, we are as near to heaven by sea as by land.' Sir Walter Raleigh was nothing daunted by his kinsman's death. By reason of his heroic character and courageous attempts to colonise Virginia, he has not un-

justly been termed the 'father of British colonisation.' He is to England what Champlain was to France in North America, a traveller, explorer, and persistent founder of settlements. Sir Walter Raleigh could count upon Court favour in his early attempts. Queen Elizabeth took the deepest interest in the idea of transatlantic empire, and had given to Sir H. Gilbert, on the occasion of his last memorable voyage, an anchor as a token of encouragement, and her best wishes, desiring 'as great goodness and safety to the ship as if herself were there in person.'

(4) Within six months of his half-brother's death Raleigh took up the enterprise, obtained a new Charter in 1584, and sent out his two well-known captains, Philip Amadas and Arthur Barlow, who in July of that year took possession of Roanoke. Between 1587 and 1602 Sir Walter Raleigh fitted out at his own charges no less than five Virginian expeditions. Notwithstanding many disappointments and failures Raleigh's faith in Virginia was strong. 'I shall yet live to see it an English nation,' were his prophetic words. *Virginia* was destined to be planted successfully in 1606, more than twenty years after Raleigh's first attempts. Many gallant men, whose enthusiasm was aroused and their energies called forth by the stirring times of Queen Elizabeth, were now bent on large schemes of permanent colonisation. Little by little the motives for adventurous exploration had changed. The ambitious search for the North-West Passage and the quest for Eldoradoes had given way to a desire to found colonies in the true sense of the word. To the best minds the Transatlantic ideal was a permanent Christian state, where loyal men might thrive and flourish undisturbed. Chivalrous men of all kinds threw themselves with ardour into the scheme of American colonisation. There was John Smith, 'an adventurer of

rarest qualities,' Edward Wingfield, a rich merchant of the West of England, Sir Ferdinando Gorges, Sir John Popham, Lord Chief Justice of England, Gosnold, an explorer who had seen with his own eyes the country and its fertility, Hakluyt, 'the industrious historian,' and others. When these men applied to James I for leave 'to deduce a colony into Virginia,' the answer was a magnificent patent (1606). It was on December 19 of this year, 109 years after the discovery of the American Continent by Cabot, that the squadron of three ships set sail. Michael Drayton, the poet, cheered them on in the following well-known lines:—

'Go, and in regions far
Such heroes bring ye forth
As those from whom we came:
And plant our name
Under that star
Not known unto our north.'

(5) The date of the Second Charter of Virginia is May 13, 1609, and contains a far larger number of illustrious names. The name of Robert Cecil, Earl of Salisbury, appears at the head of a distinguished crowd, amongst whom were the Earl of Southampton, Shakespeare's friend, the Earls of Lincoln and Dorset, Sir Oliver Cromwell, uncle to the future Protector, and Sir Francis Bacon. Sir Walter Raleigh, the great author of this Virginian project, was languishing in prison at this time. Lord Delaware was made governor of the New Plantation. The third patent for Virginia was signed in March, 1612, and still further extended the area of the colony[1]. The colonists met with great difficulties and privations during the first few years of their sojourn in the country, especially when they lost the services

[1] In Henry VIII, Act V. sc. v. 52 (1613), Shakespeare speaks of 'new nations.'

of the enterprising and indomitable John Smith, the hero of romantic exploration. They became embroiled also in quarrels with the natives who resented their intrusion. But more peaceful relations sprang up between them when Pocahontas, the beautiful daughter of a chief Powhatan, who was taken captive by the colonists, was sought in marriage by John Rolfe, one of the colonists, and converted by him to the Christian faith. This is one of the most romantic episodes of a romantic age, and its 'immediate fruits were a confirmed peace to the colony[1].'

(6) When Lord Delaware died Sir George Yeardley (1619) was appointed Governor of Virginia, and during his régime the planters were given certain powers of self-government and an elective assembly to manage their own affairs. Two burgesses were elected from each Plantation, the number of Plantations being, in 1619, eleven. The Church of England was confirmed as the Church of Virginia, and stringent laws and regulations were passed on the subject of religion and Sunday observances. The colony increased at the rate of 1100 every year, and soon attracted the attention of every one. 'Lord Bacon, who at the time of the first voyage with emigrants for Virginia had classed the enterprise with the romance of Amadis de Gaul, now said of the Plantation, "Certainly it is with the kingdoms of the earth as it is with the kingdoms of heaven, sometimes a grain of mustard-seed proves a great tree. Who can tell?" "Should the Plantation go on increasing, as under the government of that popular Lord Southampton," said Gondomar, the Spanish ambassador in London, "my master's West Indies and his Mexico will shortly be visited, by sea and by land, from these planters in Virginia"[2].'

(7) *Maryland*, further north, is the scene of another scheme of colonisation. Sir George Calvert, Lord Balti-

[1] Bancroft, vol. i. p. 114. [2] Ibid. p. 125.

more, was the patentee. He was a noble and distinguished man, and had first of all (1623) obtained a patent for Avalon on the Island of Newfoundland. By faith he was a Roman Catholic, but in spite of all the natural prejudices of the day, always esteemed a most loyal subject and liberal-minded Christian. The ocean, the fortieth parallel of latitude, the meridian of the western fountain of the Potomac, the river itself from its source to its mouth, and a line drawn due east from Watkin's Point to the Atlantic, formed the boundaries of the province[1] which was called Maryland, from Henrietta Maria, the daughter of Henry IV and wife of Charles I. He was the absolute lord and proprietary of the province to be holden by the tenure of fealty only, paying a yearly rent of two Indian arrows and a fifth of all gold and silver found there. This colony was handed on from father to son, and became a most lucrative patrimony to the family of Baltimore. It was on November 22, 1633, that the emigrants for Maryland set sail in two ships, the Ark, 300 tons, and the Dove, 50 tons. The emigrants were helped by the Virginian colonists, and advanced as quickly in six months as the mother settlement had in six years. To this Plantation, as to that of Virginia, certain measures of local government and internal liberty were conceded.

(8) In April, 1614, John Smith, when President of Virginia, had sailed on a voyage of discovery to the northern shores, and examined the coast from Penobscot to Cape Cod, calling it New England, a title which was confirmed by Prince Charles. To this land the 'pilgrims,' in the Mayflower and the Speedwell, turned in 1620. Leaving their native land as the victims of religious persecution they held no charter, concession, or warrant, but were simply adventurers. On November 9

[1] Bancroft, vol. i. p. 181.

they cast anchor in the harbour of Cape Cod. Before they landed the following document and compact was drawn up by them, which shows clearly their spirit and intention:—'In the name of God, Amen; we whose names are underwritten, the loyal subjects of our dread sovereign King James, having undertaken, for the glory of God and advancement of the Christian faith, and honour of our king and country, a voyage to plant the first colony in the northern parts of Virginia, do by these presents, solemnly and mutually, in the presence of God and of one another, covenant and combine ourselves together into a civil body politic, for our better ordering, and preservation, and furtherance of the ends aforesaid; and, by virtue hereof, to enact, constitute, and frame such just and equal laws, ordinances, acts, constitutions, and offices, from time to time, as shall be thought most convenient for the general good of the colony. Unto which we promise all due submission and obedience.' This instrument was signed by forty-one men, representing one hundred and two souls, the whole colony of that time. The colonists, after some difficulty, landed at New Plymouth, at a spot still marked by posterity. Here was the beginning of New England. Next year the Bay of Massachusetts and Boston Harbour were explored, and other settlements followed on the Kennebec and along the banks of the Connecticut River.

(9) It will be seen that the Colony of the Pilgrim Fathers differed essentially from all others in its origin and conception. The main idea of the colonists was to secure for themselves a place in the world where they could worship God in the way that seemed best to them. They were not rebellious or disloyal, as the wording of their Compact proves. They trusted to themselves and their own enterprising spirit for success, and leaned neither upon privilege nor chartered rights. They had

gone to Holland where they had heard there was toleration for all, and conducted themselves with piety and honesty whilst sojourning there. But they desired to live under the British flag, and thought they could do that best by crossing the Atlantic. Nothing could be more different from their methods than that of the Council of Plymouth (in England) who, two months after the Mayflower sailed, obtained from King James a most wonderful Charter, which gave them absolute power over all the land contained between the 40th and 48th degrees north latitude, extending from the Atlantic to the Pacific. This block of land comprised nearly all the inhabited British possessions of that time. The grant was absolute, and gave everything to the Corporation.

(10) New England was reinforced from time to time by fresh arrivals from the old country, who were driven out for political opinions or persecuted for their religion. In May, 1638, the Privy Council interfered to stay a squadron of eight ships which were in the Thames preparing to sail for the New World. Both Hampden and Cromwell were said to have been on board. During the summer of this year no fewer than 3000 emigrants went over in twenty ships. The disturbed state of politics at home, and the events which ended in the execution of King Charles and the establishment of the Protectorate, left the New England colonists at liberty to go forward as they pleased for nearly twenty years. By 1641 the Government of *Massachusetts* had established itself in its liberties and laws. Harvard College had been founded (1638) and public education was provided for all classes. It has been pointed out by Professor Seeley that 'now for the first time the New World reacted upon the Old by actual personal influence. New England was itself the child of Puritanism, and of Puritanism in that second form of Independency to

which Cromwell himself adhered. Accordingly it took a very direct part in the English Revolution. Several prominent English politicians of the time may be mentioned who had themselves lived in Massachusetts, e. g. Sir Henry Vane, George Downing, and Hugh Peters, Cromwell's chaplain.'

(11) In 1642 the colony of *New Hampshire* was incorporated with the earlier settlement on equal terms. In 1643 there was a union effected between *Massachusetts, Connecticut, Plymouth,* and *New Haven.* Within the first fifteen years it is calculated that there came over to Puritan New England 21,200 persons or 4000 families. Their descendants in 1834, about 200 years afterwards, mustered nearly 4,000,000. In character the settlements were chiefly agricultural communities planted near the seaside from New Haven to Pemaquid. As early as 1675 it was an easy task for Massachusetts, Plymouth, and Connecticut to raise a force of 1000 troopers to deal with the natives. Both to the north and the south, from Virginia on the one hand and Massachusetts on the other, British colonists were making their way. Along the coast of the eastern sea-board, from Maine to South Carolina, a young nation was arising. To their force of character and indomitable vigour, 'their fierce spirit of liberty,' the great Edmund Burke gave ample testimony in 1775 in his well-known speeches on Conciliation with America. Adam Smith, in his estimate of the American character, lays stress upon their inborn virtues and native hardihood. 'In what way, therefore, has the policy of Europe contributed either to the first establishment or to the present grandeur of the colonies of America? In one way and in one way only it has contributed a good deal. Magna virum mater! It bred and formed the men who were capable of achieving such great actions and of laying the foundation of so great an

Empire: and there is no quarter of the world of which the policy is capable of forming, or has ever actually and in fact formed such men. The colonies owe to the policy of Europe the education and great views of their active and enterprising founders: and some of the greatest and most important of them, so far as concerns their internal government, owe to it scarce anything else [1].'

(12) It is difficult to understand the nature and scope of French colonisation, especially in the seventeenth century, without a broad survey of the policy of their kings and ministers. Their intentions and designs appear great and far-reaching. An explorer like Champlain easily gained audience at the court, and the spiritual regeneration of the natives of the American Continent was, as we have seen, a real motive with princes and nobles. The crusading and evangelising spirit of the old explorers who hoped to bring unknown races of men and new kingdoms of the world under the influence of Rome was not yet extinct. But somehow or other the great vice-royalties were failures, settlements were still-born. A few general reflections may serve to prove that French failures in North America were owing to a number of collateral influences acting and re-acting upon one another in Europe.

(13) The history of France in the seventeenth century was that of an ambitious nation, which endeavoured on the one hand to obtain and keep a supremacy amongst the nations of Europe, and, on the other, to form and consolidate a transatlantic empire. They were terribly hindered, however, in this wide policy by the religious wars and dissensions which prevailed between Roman Catholics and Protestants. Henry IV, a wise and pacific king, in 1598 granted the celebrated Edict of Nantes, which was a great boon to all Protestants within

[1] Wealth of Nations, p. 465.

his realm, and ushered in the principle of religious toleration. He was at the head of a League which was to check the pretensions of the Holy Roman Empire, when in 1608 he fell by the hand of the assassin Ravaillac; and this century, which was inaugurated so fairly, was soon marked by all the old violence and injustice which had distinguished its predecessor. Religious wars broke out again, and blood was shed freely on both sides until the Edict of Nantes was confirmed again in 1628. The evils of intestine warfare were immeasurable for France. She became a nation divided against herself, with her arms paralysed and her chivalry disunited. It is calculated that these religious wars had cost the country 1,000,000 lives and a sum of 150,000,000 livres, besides causing the wanton destruction of 9 cities, 400 villages, 2000 churches, and 2000 monasteries. This national waste must have been a serious hindrance to plans of colonisation.

(14) It was a century, however, of magnificent ideas and projects, gathering their inspiration probably from the more thrilling and romantic incidents of that which had just preceded it. The most prominent figure is, firstly, that of Cardinal Richelieu during the reign of Louis XIII, and then that of Colbert in the reign of Louis XIV. They were both fired with an ambition to extend the industries and commerce of France and create a transatlantic empire. But the revocation of the Edict of Nantes (1685) was one of the chief means of ruining their colonial policy. In the first place, this relapse into the religious intolerance and fanaticism of the last century rallied against them not only England but other powers of Europe, and William III became not only a champion of English nationality, but of the territorial freedom of Europe, which appeared to be menaced.

(15) In her defence of Protestantism England could count also upon the hearty support and co-operation of

the New England colonists, now increasing in numbers and prosperity along the eastern sea-board of North America. The colonists were an important factor in the American wars, when the fact is taken into consideration that the French census of 1688 showed only a total of 11,249 whilst that of the English population was twenty times as much. Another result of the revocation of the Edict of Nantes was to drive skilled Huguenot artisans and mechanics into other countries, and make them competitors and rivals of their mother-country. Many sought an asylum in England and Holland, and a large number of refugees sailed as far south as the Cape of Good Hope, then a commercial port of the Dutch East India Company, and became a nucleus of a young and strong nationality which has assisted to people not only the Cape Colony itself, but, in later times, the Dutch inland republics. They took with them their native vines, and developed the wine industry of South Africa. Thus in France religious fanaticism drove the colonists beyond the pale and influence of the French State. In England a persecution for faith and principles did not make aliens of the English exiles. The Pilgrim Fathers were always loyal to the Crown, and staunch supporters of the national cause in America. Louis XIV was the champion also of legitimacy in Europe, but in his contest with England this advocacy won him no renown or credit. By the Treaty of Ryswick (1697) he was compelled to recognise the revolutionary sovereign of England. Perhaps, however, the true nature of that tremendous struggle, which was closed for a time by the Treaty of Utrecht, may best be described as a duel between England and France for commercial monopolies and colonial supremacy. The very terms of the treaty show in themselves the objects for which both parties had been contending.

(16) In this century England profited not only at the expense of France, but also of Spain and Holland. Holland was great at its beginning, and more powerful than England by sea. During the reign of James I the Dutch traded to England with six hundred ships, England to Holland with sixty only; and Sir Thomas Overbury says that the Dutch possessed three times more shipping than the English, although their ships were of inferior burden. The cruel torture and murder, during this reign, of certain English factors by the Dutch on the Island of Amboyna, which the government at home were compelled at the time to overlook, indicates the powerlessness of the English fleet. During the Commonwealth, 1649–1660, the position of affairs was reversed, and in spite of de Ruyter and Tromp, the Dutch fleet was driven off the seas by Admiral Blake. Their whole Channel commerce was cut off: even that to the Baltic was much interfered with by English privateers. Their fisheries were totally suspended, and more than 1600 of their ships fell into the hands of the English[1].

(17) The policy of England during this century had a continuity unaffected by political events or religious considerations. The fleet which was used to such effect by the great Commonwealth admiral had been put into good order by the late king. So it mattered not who reigned in England as long as a commercial and colonial policy was vigorously pursued and new territories were added to the empire. Spain had ceased to be formidable, and her empire in South America had perhaps helped to demoralise her. Under the Treaty of Utrecht England, in her greed for commercial monopolies, sullied her hands with the slave-trade, and by the Assiento secured the monopoly of transferring slaves from Africa into Spanish America.

[1] Hume, viii. 238.

No Frenchman, or Spaniard, or any other person might introduce a single negro into the West Indian Islands, and the sovereigns of Spain and England, reserving the profit arising from the sale of human beings to themselves, became the largest slave-dealers in the world. It has been pointed out (Professor Seeley, 'Expansion of England') that during this century there were two great forces at work: (1) that of the Reformation; and (2) the attraction of the New World. Little by little religious wars cease, and the struggle between the European nations is for commercial superiority. It is to the progress of affairs in the New World, and to the great duel between English and French for the best vantage-ground there, that the student of history turns with interest if he wishes to gain a true insight into the history of the age. In the Far West is for once found the key to European politics.

CHAPTER VIII.

France and the Mississippi, 1663–1688.

(1) In 1665 the Colony of New France, which had now passed out of the control of the One Hundred, was defended by a Royal regiment, and governed by three principal officers, a Governor, Bishop, and Intendant. The first Governor of the new régime was M. de Mesy, the first Bishop, Laval, and the first Intendant, whose position was

more permanent than that of the Governor, Jean Baptiste Talon. The latter was a wise and ambitious officer. Seeing that true colonisation was best shown in the cultivation of the soil, he encouraged the emigrants to follow the example now set to them by the New England on the coast, and make themselves entirely self-supporting. He prepared the way for coming colonists by clearing their plots and building their huts for them, thus tiding them over the most difficult part of their career. He even encouraged the manufacture of linen and woollen stuffs amongst the colonists. Talon, also, had ambitious views of the French Empire in North America. He wished to make the French power supreme to the very skirts of the Continent, and as far south as the Gulf of Mexico.

(2) In this work he was materially assisted by the Jesuits, to whom the task of North American exploration had already become an honourable tradition, to be handed on from one generation to another. The pathway to the West, by way of the Ottawa, had been pointed out by the great Champlain, and from time to time the Jesuit Fathers followed on his track to the congenial mission-field of the Huron country. For fifteen years Jean de Brebeuf had laboured in the Huron country, enduring infinite perils and exhibiting 'an absolute pattern of every religious virtue.' He converted an Indian warrior called Ahasistari, who was baptized himself and enlisted a troop of converts, exclaiming, 'Let us strive to make the whole world embrace the faith in Jesus.' To the Jesuit Fathers the whole world was indeed their mission-field. This peaceful and devoted order was founded by a Spanish soldier, Ignatius Loyola, at the time of the Reformation, as a new militant order with spiritual weapons. The Jesuits' training was of the most careful kind. The best teachers of the day were in their ranks. They had to lay aside all

thoughts of worldly advancement, and could never become prelates in the Church. They vowed, like Roman soldiers, implicit obedience to their superior officers. Without home ties, and freed from the control of the cloister, their ambition was solely directed to swaying the minds and opinions of men. Here was the kingdom in which they sought preferment, here the realm in which they loved to chronicle their triumphs. Evangelisation was with them an over-mastering passion. Whether their convert were a polished gentleman of an European Court or a savage in uncultivated regions, their zeal was the same. They penetrated everywhere—to the Moluccas, to China, to Japan, to India and Tibet. They explored the ancient Christian kingdom of remote Abyssinia, they sailed on the track of Diaz and Vasco di Gama, and rounded the Cape and set up stations amongst the Kaffirs ; they were to be found in the plains of California, in the forests of the Amazon, and on the west coast of Africa.

(3) In fact, wherever a daring foot could venture, there were the disciples of Ignatius Loyola to be found. With all their fervour they did not lack worldly tact and good sense. Nothing was thought so small or insignificant as to be passed over and neglected. Every kind of knowledge, practical or theoretic, was made to subserve their great purpose. They were the best linguists and ethnologists and cartographers in the world. They learnt how to plant, build and reap, and were skilful agriculturists, diligent craftsmen, and learned men of science. They have enriched botany, contributed to the science of medicine, added to the knowledge of languages and opened the avenues of commerce. They were, in fact, an irresistible army of enthusiasts who walked with light and knowledge, and, whilst engaged on mission work, seldom forgot the duties of their high calling. There was never lacking a Jesuit Father to go to the most remote districts

of the Lakes and to the lonely spaces of the prairie to lay his faith and teaching before the Indian braves. Their roll of North American explorers eclipses all others.

(4) In August, 1665, Father Claude Allouez embarked by way of the Ottawa to the Far West, passing beyond the Great Manitoulin or Sacred Island to where the waters of the Upper Lakes rush into the Huron. He carried on his explorations for two years, founded a mission amongst the Chippewas, and saw the regions north of Lake Superior, where scattered bands of Hurons and Ottawas lived. He claimed the country for France, and in the name of Louis XIV and his Viceroy assumed the *rôle* of mediator between the Chippewas and the Sioux. Returning to Quebec, he was the first explorer who brought back information of the vast prairie to the west of Lake Superior. In his subsequent work and explorations he was assisted by Dablon and Marquette, who extended French influence from Green Bay to the head of Lake Superior. In June, 1671, a congress was held at the Falls of St. Mary, between Lakes Huron and Superior, by the French officials, who summoned envoys from every tribe within 100 leagues to meet there, and hear that they were taken under the protection of the French monarch. In the primeval forest of maple and pine, a cross of cedar was erected as a sign of peaceful Christian annexation, and by its side a cedar pillar with the lilies of the Bourbons. But very little was destined to come of this ceremony.

(5) It was in 1673 that Marquette, accompanied by a few Frenchmen and Algonkins, set out to discover the great Mississippi, of which he had heard rumours. His was a double commission. He set out 'as an envoy of France to discover new countries, and as an ambassador from God to enlighten them with the Gospel.' According to all accounts the country was inhospitable and the natives hostile, but Marquette and his companions,

supported by that wonderful and undoubting faith of the early religious explorers of the continent, were nothing daunted. When reminded of the dangers before him, this brave Jesuit Father simply said, 'I shall gladly lay down my life for the salvation of souls.' Setting out from Lake Michigan, the explorers made their way up the Fox River in canoes, and carrying them across the narrow portage that divides the Fox River from the Wisconsin, embarked upon its bosom, and floating down for seven days found themselves at last upon the Mississippi, or The Father of Waters. This was, in truth, a magnificent river, and for league after league the adventurers sailed down to unknown regions, reaching warmer climates and more luxuriant plains.

(6) About 180 miles below the mouth of the Wisconsin, they discovered the tribe of the Illinois. Thence southwards past the mighty and swiftly-flowing Missouri, and past the Wabash or Ohio, they came to the Arkansas. Here was the limit of their explorations. Marquette had indeed opened up a new and wonderful country to the south, and had made the geographical discovery that the Father of Waters emptied itself neither into the ocean east of Florida, nor yet into the Gulf of California, but flowed southward towards the Gulf of Mexico instead. How far this Gulf was distant he still left uncertain.

(7) The explorations of Marquette were further carried out by another Frenchman, Robert Cavalier de la Salle, who had established himself as a fur-trader along the Lakes Ontario and Erie. He was the first to launch a vessel on the Upper Niagara river. He named Lake St. Clair, planted a trading post at Mackinaw, and explored Illinois, and early in 1682 descended the Mississippi to the sea. His companions in adventure were Tonti, an Italian veteran, and the celebrated Franciscan Louis Hennepin. He claimed the country for the French King Louis XIV,

and called it Louisiana after him. When La Salle returned to Europe with the news of his magnificent discovery, he was received with great enthusiasm. Colbert, who had always favoured schemes of exploration and colonisation in North America, was dead, but his son, Seignelay, the Minister for maritime affairs, listened eagerly to La Salle's account of the New Empire. In 1684, four vessels with 280 colonists left Rochelle for Louisiana. The expedition was amply provided with stores and equipments of every kind, and its magnificence reads strangely, and perhaps instructively, in contrast with the poverty and hardships of our own first struggling settlers in New England. Louis XIV had taken a deep interest in the undertaking. But he shamefully neglected it afterwards, and La Salle himself, who had been lured into Northern Mexico by the reports of the rich mines of Saint Barbe, and had left the settlement to itself, was cruelly murdered after his return by his own fellow colonists Duhaut and Liotot (1687).

(8) Thus fell La Salle, who was one of the most gallant and intrepid pioneers of the French Empire in North America. From Upper Canada to the mouth of the Mississippi he had carried on the most arduous tasks of discovery. His last exploit was the greatest, by which he gave Louisiana and Texas to Louis XIV. More than any other explorer he was able through his influence with Louis XIV and Colbert to fire the French with the zeal of colonisation. The power of France in North America was never greater than at this time. This power was of a peculiar kind. It did not rest so much upon the numbers and prosperity of the colonists themselves, as upon the zeal of religious enthusiasts, contending almost single-handed amongst native tribes. The Court and Government of France were willing officially to do all they could to develop an immense

Empire in North America, and to fight on the never-ending question of commercial monopolies with England. But when the French Government became embarrassed with wars and difficulties at home their colonists were naturally left to themselves.

(9) In the case of the English settlements along the east coast, the Home Government had at first done little or nothing to help them. If a 'Plantation' was not the pet project of a few patentees, who looked upon it in the light of an individual enterprise likely to bring in money, it was the result generally of religious intolerance at home. The shores of North America were to such emigrants a welcome refuge and a future home. The Imperial Government left them to themselves generally, thus giving them opportunities of self-development. The colonists availed themselves of the liberty of self-government, not foolishly or intemperately, but in a wise and judicious manner. The laws they framed for themselves in New England for local government, education, and village management, are a proof of their sincere determination to create a new and sound society in foreign lands[1]. The North American colonists took with them the letter and spirit of the Magna Carta, as well as their Bible.

(10) It was the good fortune also of the British colonists to have amongst their patentees such high-minded men as the Catholic Lord Baltimore and the Quaker William Penn, who founded, respectively, Maryland and Pennsylvania. The Friends' influence on American life and thought has always been most marked. When Harrington and Shaftesbury and Locke thought government must rest on property, 'Penn did not despair of humanity, and, though all history and experience denied the sovereignty of the people, dared to cherish the noble idea

[1] See Appendix iv.

of man's capacity for self-government. Conscious that there was no room for its exercise in England, the pure enthusiast, like Calvin and Descartes, a voluntary exile, came to the banks of the Delaware to institute "The Holy Experiment[1]".' The example of the Quaker enthusiasts has touched our own poets and thinkers of a later time. Their teaching and example had an effect upon Coleridge, Wordsworth, and Southey in 1780–90, and it may be recollected that they too, disgusted with politics at home, discussed, if they did not seriously carry out, a project of instituting a Holy Experiment on the banks of the Susquehanna. Their plans fell to the ground and the vision of a Pantisocracy faded away, fortunately for the cause of poetry and literature in England; but this little incident illustrates the power which Transatlantic society has exercised from time to time upon ourselves.

(11) Penn, 'the Quaker King,' invested with supreme power in Delaware, landed in Newcastle in 1682, and was received by a crowd of English, Swedes, and Dutch. He addressed the assembled multitude on government, recommended sobriety and peace, and pledged himself to grant liberty of conscience and civil freedom. To the Indians Penn held forth the right hand of fellowship, and professed the same simple message of peace and love which George Fox had professed to Cromwell.

(12) Contrast for a moment the methods of colonisation as employed by a Jesuit mission in Canada. The Fathers attracted the Indians by their impressive services, and in the *rôle* of missionaries and travellers were great, but as colonists, building up a society of colonists, were little. The Jesuit teaching could not allow political equality and political progress. In the history of French Canada the priests were often found at variance with their own governors, and thus hampered the national cause. Now

[1] Bancroft, ii. 121.

and then there are indications that the French Court, enthusiastic as it was during the seventeenth century for the spiritual welfare of the natives under Jesuit guidance, suspected their methods and influence. In the governorship of de Frontenac (1682) there were two parties, that of the Intendant du Chesneau working with the Jesuits, and of the Governor himself, both with partisans at the French Court, showing the disunion to which the bureaucratic government of France by Church and State in Canada was occasionally liable.

(13) The Chevalier de la Salle had obtained the sanction and support of the French government for wide schemes of colonisation in Louisiana and Texas. The *Mississippi Company* was first established in 1684 in his favour, but his privileges did not produce many results, owing to his premature death. In 1712 the Company's business in Louisiana became a vast monopoly in the hands of Anthony Crozat, who held it for five years. The plan of colonisation by means of companies, which was practised by the Dutch, French, and English during this century, deserves some consideration. In England the oldest trading company was the *Hamburgh Company* (1296), which was better known in the reign of Henry VII under the title of 'Merchant Adventurers to Calais, Holland, etc.,' and in the reign of Queen Elizabeth as 'The Merchant Adventurers of England.' The *Russia Company* was first projected in the reign of King Edward VI, and their charter was confirmed in the reign of Queen Elizabeth as 'The Company of Merchants for discovering New Trades.' It had its rise in the efforts of our sailors, to find out the north-east passage to China, notably Willoughby and Chancellour, who explored the White Sea and opened up Archangel (1553). This Company had the exclusive privilege of trading with the ports of Muscovy. The charter of the *Eastland Company*

dates 1597; the *Turkey or Levant Company*, 1581; the *Company of Merchant Traders to Africa*, 1750.

(14) To these must be added the joint-stock companies: the *South Sea Company*, whose first operation was that of supplying the Spanish West Indies with negroes, in accordance with the Assiento contract granted by the Treaty of Utrecht (1713); the *East India Company*, first established by charter from Queen Elizabeth in 1600, and not a joint-stock company at first. This Company possesses a most chequered and interesting history, and has helped to lay the foundations of our Indian empire; the *Hudson's Bay Company* (1670), which consisted originally of nine persons, who held the monopoly of trade with Hudson's Bay. The Dutch possessed two great trading companies—the *East Indian*, 1597, and the *West Indian*, 1621. The French had also an *East Indian Company*, 1664, and *West Indian Company*, 1664; the charter of the latter giving them 'the property and seigniory of Canada, Acadia, the Antilles Islands, Isle of Cayenne, and the terra firma of America from the river of the Amazons to that of the Orinoco.'

(15) These companies, with their vast and exclusive privileges, were regarded as great national levers of political and commercial power, and no doubt greatly forwarded trade and commerce. They have seemed to arrogate to themselves the sovereign powers of the State. Adam Smith has given us one view of the subject not justified entirely by events: 'These companies, though they may, perhaps, have been useful for the first introduction of some branches of commerce, by making, at their own expense, an experiment which the State might not think it prudent to make, have in the long run proved, universally, either burdensome or useless, and have either mismanaged or confined the trade they undertook.' He draws the distinction between those

companies who trade upon the joint-stock principle and divide proportionately according to the whole amount, and those companies which are obliged to admit any person, properly qualified, upon paying a certain sum, and agreeing to submit to the regulations of the company, each member trading upon his own stock and at his own risk. The Hudson's Bay Company was a joint-stock company with a very small number of proprietors, and is instanced as a successful company. The nature of the trade and the character of the country have prevented private adventurers intruding upon their domain when no exclusive privileges were granted originally. For some of these companies had exclusive privileges, others not. Wherever they existed in countries and on a soil where European colonisation was possible and desirable, they seemed to conflict with colonial freedom and liberties. The Dutch East India Company held the Cape of Good Hope for 150 years (1652–1795), but they held it in the spirit of close monopolists and of commercial and territorial autocrats. The Council of Seventeen was absolutely supreme over all the Company's posts. The Dutch Governor of the Cape, with his clerical adviser and merchant officials of high and intermediate grades, formed a ruling clique who never admitted the political equality of their colonists. Such men were indeed occasionally admitted into the country, and 'allowed as a matter of grace to have a residence on land of which possession had been taken by the sovereign power, there to gain a livelihood as tillers of the earth, tailors, and shoemakers[1].' When the English took the Cape over from the Dutch Company at the beginning of this century, they introduced what was then a new idea to the oppressed Dutch burghers, viz. that of colonial liberty and self-government. Later on the Hudson's Bay Company

[1] See Judge Watermeyer's Essays on Cape History.

is found in conflict with the Canadian colonists, although on other grounds and in another way. It was not a political liberty that the Canadians contended for, it was the right to trade and hunt in the forests and along the rivers of their country. Until the administration of the Hudson's Bay Territory was transferred from the Company to the Canadian Government in 1858, a cause of friction was always at hand on the eastern and western borders of their huge territory. Still, in spite of Adam Smith's condemnation and the manifest objections which exist against large trading companies holding privileges and monopolies, it cannot be denied that they have, in the case of England, wonderfully helped to develop her resources. In North America the Hudson's Bay Company was noted for its humane and generous treatment of the aborigines; and in the Indian peninsula the great East India Company, when brought into contact with the natives and their rulers, rescued them from anarchy and disorder, and, by judicious administration, laid the foundations of that magnificent empire which is our present heritage. Not that the East India Company's servants have always been blameless in the matter of peculation, as the need for Cornwallis' reforms proves. But here, as in the case of the slave question and the South Sea Company, the national conscience awoke, in a fit of penitence and remorse redeemed itself, and was justified in the eyes of the world. The age of great trading companies is not yet over. In North Borneo, and, quite recently, in south-east Africa, British companies are extending British trade and influence to the manifest good of the inhabitants and natives themselves. Where the Company rules it is clear that, sooner or later, the State will rule directly, and new parts of the world be thus brought under the spread of the *Pax Britannica*.

CHAPTER IX.

Border Feuds between English and French, 1690–1713.

(1) For more than 150 years France had now been engaged in colonising and settling North America, yet the results were few. The French census of 1688 showed only 11,249 colonists in the country. The villages of Acadia were the most promising spots of their empire, as they were the most genuine reproduction of home life. The Catholic peasantry, brought up under the old feudal system, flourished in such quiet valleys as that of Grand Pré in Acadia. But along the St. Lawrence and west of Montreal, the French had only a few scattered and rather inconsiderable posts at Frontenac, Mackinaw, and on the Illinois. There was no permanent post at Niagara. Their garrisons were weak, and the official determination to make their magnificent vice-royalties a reality, wavering and uncertain. The savages still held in their own hands the keys of the great West, and proved themselves the bitter foes of the French. One enterprise alone will prove their hostility. In August, 1689, a band of 1500 Iroquois fell upon the Isle of Montreal at Lachine, in the early morning, put to death 200 colonists, and took captive 200 more. They held the island unchallenged for two months, so that the French had scarcely a single post of safety west of Three Rivers. The French could hardly protect themselves against the Indians, still less could they crush the growing power of the British colonies and coop them up to the east of the Alleghanies.

(2) The best test of colonisation is population, and in

1688 the following is calculated to have been the population of the twelve oldest English colonies in the south:—

Massachusetts, with Plymouth and Maine	44,000
New Hampshire, Rhode Island and Providence	18,000
Connecticut	20,000
New York	20,000
New Jersey	10,000
Pennsylvania and Delaware	12,000
Maryland	25,000
Virginia	50,000
The two Carolinas and Georgia	8,000
Total	207,000

This sum total of 207,000 colonists was extremely powerful, both relatively and in itself. Population means strength and wealth, and power of resistance or aggression. Mere weight will tell, and the victory went here as elsewhere to the heaviest battalions.

(3) The history of the next seventy years is little more than an account of a succession of strifes, massacres, and petty wars between French and English. In the end victory was destined to declare itself for England. Frontenac was at this time Governor of Canada, and he was an active and enterprising officer; with the exception, perhaps, of Champlain, the greatest of French Canadian Governors. He managed to keep the Indians in check, and with this object in view had built a fort, called at first Cataraqui and afterwards Frontenac, on the site of the present city of Kingston, to guard the entrance to the St. Lawrence against the Iroquois. After the massacre of Lachine, when no fewer than 200 French colonists lost their lives, the prospects of France seemed to be very dark. Frontenac saw that the real bar to the progress of his country was New England. When, in 1689, commissioners from New England held a conference with the Mohawks at Albany, the Indians said, 'We have burnt Montreal, we

are allies of the English; we will keep the chain unbroken.' Frontenac determined to act on the offensive, and to enlist the services of all the natives he could persuade to join him. Three descents were made upon English settlements. The first was from Montreal, when a party of 110, composed of French and Christian Iroquois, under the leadership of De Mantel, Sainte Hélène, and D'Iberville, a French explorer of Hudson's Bay fame, fell upon the settlement of Schenectady at midnight. It was in the winter, and the wretched inhabitants, wrapped in slumber, had no notice of the approach of their deadly enemies, as they stole upon them silently over the snow. Sixty were massacred in cold blood, and a miserable remnant, half-clad, escaped across the snows to Albany.

(4) Another party, led by Hertel de Rouville, consisting of fifty-two, fell upon the settlement at Salmon Falls, on the Piscataqua, killing many and taking captive 54 souls, chiefly women and children. No age or sex was spared, and the prisoners, in the terrible hardships and cruelties to which they were exposed, suffered the terrors of death a hundred times over. Here is an account given of this border atrocity:—'The prisoners were laden with the spoils from their own homes. Robert Rogers, rejecting his burden, was bound by the Indians to a tree, and dry leaves kindled around him, set in such heaps that they would burn him slowly. Mary Ferguson, a girl of fifteen, burst into tears from fatigue and was scalped forthwith. Mehetabel Goodwin lingered apart in the snow to lull her infant to sleep, lest its cries should awake the savages; angry at her delay, her master struck the child against a tree and hung it among the branches. The infant of Mary Plaisted was thrown into the river, that, eased of her burden, she might walk faster.'

(5) A third foray was made successfully in the same way as the preceding ones, upon the settlement in

Casco Bay. Such were the ferocities of border warfare, till in March, 1690, the New England colonists, exasperated to the utmost pitch, called a Congress at Rhode Island 'to advise and conclude on suitable methods in assisting each other for the safety of the whole land.' It was resolved to attempt the conquest of Canada by sending an army over Lake Champlain to Montreal, whilst Massachusetts should attack Quebec with a fleet. The fleet consisted of thirty-four sail, manned by 2000 colonists, under the command of Sir William Phipps. The land forces were commanded by General Winthrop. The colonial fleet succeeded in an attack upon Port Royal but failed to take the stronger fortress of Quebec, the news of their coming having put Frontenac on his guard. General Winthrop had got as far as Lake George, but small-pox broke out amongst his men, his Indian allies failed to come, and the expedition broke up. Misfortune followed upon misfortune. The Massachusetts fleet was overtaken on its return by storms off the Island of Anticosti, and many ships and lives lost. The French colonists, overjoyed at their success, built a church of our Lady of Victory, and struck a medal at Quebec.

(6) In England these disasters were received with great dismay, and it was resolved to retrieve them. A fleet designed for the conquest of Canada set sail, but met with no better fortune than the Massachusetts squadron. They were repulsed at Martinique, and heightened the character of their defeat by bringing with them the scourge of the yellow fever, which destroyed two-thirds of the mariners and soldiers on board. Meantime Indian raids were being carried on, and the town of York and the village at Oyster River, in New Hampshire, were visited by roving bands of savages, and destroyed with the usual accompaniments of ruthless barbarity. Our empire in North America was indeed

sown in blood. The chiefs of the Micmacs brought to Frontenac the scalps of English colonists killed on the Piscataqua. The French were never more formidable to the English than under the Governorship of Frontenac. In 1696 the fort of Pemaquid (Fort William Henry) was taken by D'Iberville, and the French frontier thrust far into Maine. By the Treaty of Ryswick (1697) France retained all Hudson's Bay, and all the places of which she was in possession at the beginning of the war. In fact the whole country from Maine to beyond Labrador and Hudson's Bay, besides Canada and the Valley of the Mississippi, was hers. Frontenac had partially subdued and greatly awed the Indians of the West, and so kept the mastery of the Lakes. At this time the Jesuit missions exercised a great political influence with the Iroquois, while in New York the exasperated legislature (1700) made a law for 'hanging every popish priest that should come voluntarily into the province.'

(7) The year 1708 was marked by a French-Indian border raid exceeding, if possible, in atrocity any which had preceded it, the scene of which was laid at Haverhill. 'Haverhill was, at that time, a cluster of thirty cottages and log-cabins embosomed in the primeval forests near the tranquil Merrimac. In the centre of the settlement stood a new meeting-house, the pride of the village. On the few acres of open land the ripening Indian corn rose over the charred stumps of trees, and on the north and west bordered on the unbroken wilderness, which stretched to the White Mountains and beyond them, and, by its very extent, seemed a bulwark against invasion. On the twenty-ninth of August, evening prayers had been said in each family, and the village had resigned itself to sleep. That night the band of invaders slept quietly in the near forest. At daybreak they assumed the order of battle: Rouville addressed the

soldiers, who, after their orisons, marched against the fort, raised the shrill yell, and dispersed themselves through the village to their work of blood. The rifle rang; the cry of the dying rose. Benjamin Wolfe, the minister, was beaten to death; one Indian drove a hatchet deep into the brain of his wife, while another caught his infant child and dashed its head against a stone. Thomas Hartshorne and two of his sons, attempting a rally, were shot: a third son was tomahawked. John Johnston was shot by the side of his wife: she fled into the garden bearing an infant; was caught and murdered; but, as she fell, she concealed her child, which was found after the massacre clinging to her breast . . . The day was advanced when the battle ended. The rude epitaph on the moss-grown stone tells where the interment of the villagers was made in haste. . . . Such were the sorrows of that generation[1].'

(8) Such cruelties as these sank deep into the minds and memories of the New England colonists. From henceforth there could be no peace with French or Indians. A bounty was offered for every Indian scalp, and the woods and forests were scoured from end to end by colonists, who in their desire for vengeance spared no pains to follow their enemies down. They became skilled backwoodsmen and keen hunters of human prey, excelling even the Indians in woodcraft and cunning. By sea the colonists did all the harm they could to the French. An old seaman, named Ben Church, led a fleet of whaleboats manned by sturdy New England fishermen, and struck terror into every French settlement from Passamaquoddy Bay to Cumberland Basin.

(9) The peace made by the *Treaty of Ryswick*, in 1697, was only a breathing spell. In a short time war was declared. In England it was felt that the French must

[1] Bancroft, vol. ii. p. 376.

be driven from Canada at all costs. War-ships and transports were sent over, and Queen Anne gave money from her own private purse to equip four New England regiments. In September, 1710, General Nicholson, with thirty-five vessels and 3500 men, sailed up the Annapolis Basin. Subercase, the French governor, was too weak to defend his position, and Port Royal passed finally into British possession and its name changed to Annapolis. In 1711 an expedition was sent against Quebec, commanded by Sir Hovenden Walker, with whom were some of the veterans who had won for England great victories on the battle-fields of Europe. This expedition failed most miserably, Sir Hovenden Walker proving himself blind and incompetent. The fleet being steered too close upon the north shore, eight vessels and 844 men were lost. Meanwhile an army of men from Connecticut, New Jersey, New York, with 600 Iroquois, was mustered at Albany ready to burst upon Montreal, and in the West the English had obtained the alliance of some Fox Indians. But on the news of the failure of Sir Hovenden Walker's expedition these colonial efforts collapsed. However, events in Europe were shaping affairs in North America. The French had suffered blow after blow at the hands of Marlborough and Eugene in a series of great battles, and were compelled to make peace. By the treaty of Utrecht (1713), Nova Scotia, Newfoundland, and Hudson's Bay Territory were ceded to Great Britain. But the disputes between French and English colonists were destined to go on for another fifty years.

(10) By the cession of Hudson's Bay Territory, the French had parted with a vast portion of the North American continent, how vast few at that time knew and appreciated. Great misapprehensions existed for a long time with regard to the character of that land,

which lay on the border of the Arctic Circle and sloped towards the Polar Seas, with the Pacific as its boundary on the Far West. Bold mariners had during the space of more than 250 years skirted the eastern shores of North America seeking for a North-West Passage—England's great national ambition—to India and China. In 1576, Martin Frobisher had sailed from Gravesend and got as far north as Frobisher's Straits. His imagination was excited and his cupidity aroused by the prospect of gold, in the very centre of arctic snows and the islands of Hyperborean seas. In 1577, during a second voyage. in which he reached Anne Warwick's Sound, he loaded his vessel with a promising ballast of shining sand and mica, which he thought to be gold. So great was the credulous enthusiasm of the age that, in 1578, fifteen vessels sailed from Harwich for Frobisher's Straits, in hopes of the golden mountains. In 1585, John Davis sailed from Dartmouth with two barks to discover the North-West Passage, getting as far as N. Lat. 66° 40″, and giving the name of Raleigh to a high mountain north of Cumberland Strait. He has left his name to Davis's Strait, which he explored in two subsequent voyages, 1586 and 1587, reaching N. Lat. 72° 41″.

(11) Then there came an interval in arctic exploration, until the great Hudson sailed into the bay that bears his name. In old maps one may see his curious geographical nomenclature, such as Desire Provokes, The Isle of God's Mercies, north of the Bay of Cumberland, showing the pious hopes and fears of the venturesome explorers. Hudson's end was sad and tragic. He was compelled to pass a winter (1610–1611) in those terrible regions, his ship's crew 'forced his cabin and took him and his son, and putting them with seven more in a chalop, committed them to the mercy of the sea.' The old chronicler adds, 'I cannot in this place pass by

in silence the generosity of one Philip Staf, who being a carpenter and a good seaman, would not stay behind with those villains, though they pressed him earnestly to it, but rather chose to go along with his captain in the chalop than to tarry amongst these perfidious wretches. What is become of them is unknown, though it be probable that they either perished for want of food, or else were murdered by the savages.' This tale of the sea is one which will never be unravelled. In 1611, Sir Thomas Button passed Hudson's Strait, came to the west shores of Hudson's Bay, and wintered at Port Nelson. He has left his name to a bay north of the Churchill River and Factory, and also to a group of islands known as Cape Chidley or the Button Islands, on the southern entrance of Hudson's Strait. In 1612, Hall and Baffin discovered Cockin's Sound, N. Lat. 65° 2″; and still under the delusion that gold existed in large quantities in those regions, tried the mine at Cunningham's river, but found it to be worth nothing. In 1615, Baffin made another expedition to the north of Davis's Strait, and gave his name to the bay. In 1616, he entered Smith's Sound in N. Lat. 78°, and satisfied himself that there was no passage to the north-west by this way. He had done a great deal, however, in deciding the geographical fact that up to this latitude the coasts of Greenland and North America were separated. In 1631, Captain James sailed to the north-west, and entering a bay near Port Nelson, called the country west of Hudson's Bay 'New South Wales.' He gave names to the following places—Cape Henrietta Maria, Lord Weston's Island, Earl of Bristol's Island, Sir Thomas Roe's Island, Earl of Danby's Island; also to James' Bay. He wintered in N. Lat. 52° 3″, having well explored these seas and made a considerable advance upon the discoveries of Hudson, Button, and Baffin. In 1667, Zachariah Gillam, in the

Nonsuch ketch, passed through Hudson's Strait, and sailing down to the Prince Rupert's River, south of James' Bay, built a fort there called Charles' Fort, and founded a trade with the natives. In 1670 the Charter was given to the great Hudson's Bay Company.

(12) The English were not allowed a monopoly, however, of the Hudson's Bay Territory, just as they were given no monopoly of explorations in Labrador. The Portuguese Cortereal had carried on many explorations in the wake of Cabot. A Genoese map by Visconti di Maillo in 1527 gives a very accurate description of the eastern and western shores. Newfoundland was called Terra Nova, and the early resort to the fisheries by the Portuguese is shown by the cape (now St. Francis) being called Capo de Portogesi, the neighbouring cove being called to this day Portugal Cove[1]. The whole of the region here was once called after Cortereal. The French name for Labrador was Nouvelle Bretagne. During the struggle for the supremacy along the St. Lawrence, the French under D'Iberville in the spring of 1687 captured all the trading posts of the English in Hudson's Bay with the exception of Port Nelson. It was seven years before the English could recapture them, but they lost them again in Queen Anne's wars, recovering them finally by the terms of the Treaty of Utrecht.

[1] Judge Pinsent's Paper on Newfoundland; Proceedings of Royal Colonial Institute, vol. xvi.

3529

CHAPTER X.

Newfoundland and Nova Scotia.

(1) The final cession of Newfoundland and Nova Scotia to England in 1713 compels a separate notice of their history up to this date. Newfoundland, as our oldest colony, claims our especial attention. At the commencement of North American exploration it was associated, as we have seen, with such names as Cabot, Gilbert, and the great Raleigh. Lord Bacon, who, with a number of other noblemen and gentlemen, had obtained a large grant of it from James I, had given it as his opinion that the fisheries of Newfoundland were more valuable than all the mines of Peru. Mineral wealth might be exhausted and gold mines become a snare to the diggers, but the cod-fisheries were absolutely inexhaustible, and provided from year to year a healthy and profitable trade to the hardy fishermen of the North. The island itself was bold and romantic, and well fitted to be the home of the northern races. It lay across the entrance to the Gulf of the St. Lawrence, and commanded, therefore, the approach to Canada and the Far West. Old chroniclers, such as Captain Whitbourne, who was sent out in 1615 to control the island, were loud in its praises. 'What,' exclaims Whitbourne, 'can the world yield to the sustentation of man which is not to be gotten there? Desire you wholesome air, the very food of life? It is there. What seas so abound with fish? What shores so replenished with fresh and sweet water? How much is Spain, France, Portugal and Italy and other

places beholden to this noble part of the world for fish and other commodities? Let the Dutch report what sweetness they have sucked from thence by trade. The voices of them are as trumpets loud enough to make England fall more in love with such a sisterhood[1].' Before the greater attractions of the continent were fully known, this island seemed delightful, fair, and profitable. If it is not now thickly inhabited and fully developed from an agricultural point of view, this may be explained by the exuberant profit of one engrossing industry, rather than by any great and marked poverty of the soil. The endless Fisheries disputes have for nearly 200 years hindered both agricultural and mining occupations.

(2) More than any other British colony, Newfoundland is instinct with past history, from the days when the Vikings coasted along its shores in remote ages, finding their way as far south as the Bay of Chaleur, down to the more prosaic days of its later settlement. Over and over again the battles of Europe have been fought in miniature around its rocky coasts and up its countless bays and inlets. As it has borne for ages the brunt of those arctic floes and ice-currents from the north, so it has borne the brunt and heard the din and tumult of human warfare. Around its sentinel rocks there was seldom peace between the French and British. Macgregor, the historian of British America, has written thus: 'For two centuries and a half after its discovery by Cabot, Newfoundland was of more mighty importance to Great Britain than any other colony, and it is doubtful if the British empire could have risen to its great and superior rank among the nations of the earth if any other Power had held possession of Newfoundland.' Undoubtedly this island was of the utmost value strategically

[1] A Discourse and Discoverie of Newfoundland, by Capt. Whitbourne.

to England as the outpost of America, the key to the St. Lawrence, and the nursery of the Colonial marine.

(3) The first attempt at organised settlement was made in 1624, when Lord Baltimore (Sir George Calvert) obtained a special patent for the southern promontory of the island, to which it is said he gave the name of Avalon, after that hallowed spot in the West of England where, according to the legend, Joseph of Arimathea took refuge, carrying with him the Holy Grail. Lord Baltimore's principal settlement in Avalon was called Ferryland[1]. Here he lived for several years with his family and numerous followers. He built storehouses, granaries, and a fort, and it seemed as if prosperity would quickly come to the little colony. Unfortunately Lord Baltimore was exposed to the ravages of the French privateers who, in the days of Charles I, occupied very largely the coasts of the island. At the time of the Treaty of St. Germain-en-Laye British colonisation was naturally at a low ebb, owing to disturbances and political unrest at home. Subsequently Lord Baltimore obtained a grant of land further south, and, as has been already noticed, founded the state of Maryland. Sir David Kirke became grantee of the Newfoundland settlement, and lived and died there. During the Civil War he offered King Charles an asylum in Newfoundland, of which he might have availed himself, and, like King Arthur in the island valley of Avalon, 'healed himself of his grievous wounds,' if Cromwell had spared his head. Prince Rupert actually

[1] 'I doubt if Lord Baltimore did give, as it is said, either the name Avalon or Verulam to the peninsula and town respectively. I find that he dated his letters from "Feryland," but it is not improbable that both the names, Avalon and Verulam, had been given before he received his grant, at the time of the previous adventure promoted by Lord Bacon, who was Baron Verulam and Viscount St. Albans.' (Judge Pinsent on Newfoundland—our oldest Colony; Proceedings of Royal Colonial Institute, vol. xvi.)

did, upon Kirke's invitation, set sail for Avalon to recruit his fleet there from amongst the hardy fishermen, but he was compelled to abandon his intention, as a fleet of the Commonwealth was sent to intercept him. The Commonwealth declared the late king's grant to Kirke null and void, and confiscated his property, which however, with the exception of the ordnance and forts, was restored to him. Notwithstanding many and harassing interruptions, the British trade grew rapidly. In the middle of the sixteenth century there were only fifty British vessels employed out of a total fleet of 400 composed of all nationalities; but in 1674 the Newfoundland fisheries were represented by the Lords Commissioners of Trade and Plantations as employing 270 ships and nearly 11,000 seamen[1].

(4) The early conditions of Newfoundland were not favourable to agricultural prosperity, self-development, and civic enfranchisement. The fashionable theory at home was simply to regard it as 'an out-station for fishing, and a nursery for the boldest sailors[2].' The Government, although patents were occasionally granted to private individuals, discouraged popular immigration. Cultivation within six miles of the shore was prohibited, and every fisherman was compelled to return every year to Great Britain. The object was to secure all the gain for the merchants at home. In 1660 the Star Chamber declared that 'No master or owner of any ship should transport any persons to Newfoundland who were not of the ship's company.' An Act passed in the reign of William and Mary vested almost absolute authority in Fishing Admirals, viz. the commanders of those ships which were first to arrive in any harbour, and who, according to the

[1] See Judge Pinsent's Paper on Newfoundland in Proceedings of Royal Colonial Institute, vol. xvi.

[2] See Lord Norton's Colonial History and Policy, p. 67.

order of their arrival, were admiral, vice-admiral, and rear-admiral of the port. These rude and illiterate admirals were the creatures of the merchants who sent them out, and held power over the residents. All this was in accordance with the monopolist principles which were popular at that time. In 1715 a representation to the Home Government stated that 'the admirals prove generally the greatest knaves, and do most prejudice, being generally judge and party in having suits for debt: and when they have served themselves they will do justice to others. So it will be requisite to have a civil government, and persons appointed to administer justice in the most frequented places, that we may be governed as Britons, and not live like banditti or forsaken people without law or gospel.' The first of the regular series of Governors was not appointed till 1728. But these Governors did not advance the cause of the colonists very heartily. They preserved better order, and gave licences of occupation occasionally to a certain number of settlers. Still the prevalent idea was that the island and the colonists existed solely for the benefit and advantage of the mother-country. The rule that prevailed was similar to that of continental nations, and is at variance certainly with the policy observed in the British settlements further south. When the fisheries of Newfoundland were, at one time, freed from French and American competition, princely fortunes were realised in England, but none of the money was spent in the island. Perhaps it was the very nature of the industry which was the cause of a policy which was exceptionally severe on the Newfoundland colonists. The fishing population, especially in some places, is roving and migratory, and the proceeds of their toil are bought and sold in distant markets where there is no convenient interchange of goods.

(5) The continual rivalry of the French in the fisheries constituted also a great bar to social and civil progress. By the Treaty of Ryswick, in 1697, various places on the south coast, of which Placentia was the French capital, were kept in possession of the French. In 1702 they held nearly the whole of the island in their own hands. Placentia was almost as firm a stronghold of the French as Port Royal in Nova Scotia. The Treaty of Utrecht secured the complete sovereignty of England, but it conceded certain 'fisheries rights' which have been a continual source of trouble. The French sailors were allowed the right of catching fish and drying them on land, from Bonavista to the eastern coasts of Newfoundland, and thence northward to Point Riche on the western shore. These rights have been left much as they were then defined. The Treaty of Versailles in 1783 and the Treaty of 1814 touched them but did not alter them materially. The anomaly still remains that, although England's sovereignty is acknowledged, the French still claim exclusive rights along the shore. The presence of this political difficulty still provokes an ill-feeling between our colonists and Frenchmen.

Nova Scotia.

(6) Shortly after the expedition of Sir Humphrey Gilbert to Newfoundland the French attempted to found a colony in Nova Scotia. The name they gave to the country was Acadia, said to be an Indian word meaning 'abundance,' and it included at first not only the peninsula of Nova Scotia, but the territory now forming part of New Brunswick and a part of the State of Maine. The king of France gave the Marquis de la Roche, as already noticed elsewhere, the title of 'Viceroy of Canada, Acadie, and the adjoining territories.' To many explorers

the peninsula of Nova Scotia seemed to be the garden of the North American Continent. Its climate was superior to that of Newfoundland and Labrador, the chilling effects of the Arctic current from Baffin's Bay not being experienced here. The more genial waters of the Gulf Stream, flowing along close to its southern shores, brought warmth and consequent fertility. As an extra safeguard against the climate of the north, an almost continuous belt of mountains and high hills shut the peninsula off from the cold winds of the St. Lawrence valley and Quebec. The climate is of an insular kind, and is subject to no such extremes as prevail in the distant regions of the continent. It boasts of a most convenient coast-line, broken up into numerous bays and inlets, affording shelter to a maritime and fishing population. There was no more convenient bay for the small craft of early explorers than the Bay of Fundy. Owing to the wonderful rise and fall of the tidal waters in this narrow neck, where the curious phenomenon of a bore or tidal wave is seen at its highest, it was possible to careen and refit the weather-beaten ships. There was many a place which served the purposes of a dry dock for vessels and afforded most convenient shelter. Her shores teemed with fish, and the inhabitants, who chiefly came as fishermen from Great Britain, Scandinavia, and the north of France, found a land exactly suited to their tastes. In the interior were vast forests with an inexhaustible supply of timber, which gave abundant occupation to the woodsman and lumberer. It was not a land eminently fitted for agriculturists or likely to be occupied by them, as long as there was better land to be found in the West and beyond the Lakes. But it was well adapted to the fruit-grower and horticulturist. On the west side of the island, on the shores of the Bay of Fundy, lay the Basin of Mines and the Annapolis

Basin, which afforded easy access to a wonderfully fertile valley. The Annapolis orchards are famous throughout the Atlantic sea-board.

(7) Here, with better reason than on the eastern shores of Newfoundland, might the name of Avalon have been reproduced. Here indeed were happy orchard lawns, here the garden of the peninsula, and here in the spring it is said that the traveller can ride, literally speaking, fifty miles under avenues of apple blossoms. Here the refugees and exiles from Europe could find a quiet and suitable home, the 'toilers of the sea' pursue their usual avocation with profit, and the thrifty fruit-growers from the provinces of France improve their orchards in a new country and under even a more favourable sky than in Europe. What the French colonists at the Cape did to improve the industry of wine-growing by introducing slips of the best kinds, the Nova Scotian peasant farmers did in Acadia to improve the growth of the best apples, the nonpareil, ribston pippins, golden russets, pommegrise, and others. The scene of Longfellow's 'Evangeline' is laid here, which has made the ground classic :—

'In the Acadian Land, on the shores of the Basin of Mines,
Distant, secluded, still, the little village of Grand Pré
Lay in the fruitful valley. Vast meadows stretched to the eastward,
Giving the village its name, and pasture to flocks without number.'

And again :—

'In the fisherman's cot the wheel and the loom are still busy,
Maidens still wear their Norman caps and their kirtles of homespun,
And by the evening fire repeat Evangeline's story,
While from its rocky caverns the deep-mouthed neighbouring ocean
Speaks, and in accents disconsolate answers the wail of the forest.'

Elsewhere the Basin of Mines has been thus described :—

'Swirling round Cape Split, and pressing through the narrow passage like a mill-stream, the turbid waters peacefully expand into the Basin of Mines. The broad basin reposing at your feet looks like a wide-opened hand, sending out long beneficent fingers all round into the heart of a grateful country. One of these fingers touches the valley of the Cornwallis, and into its tips stream the tidal rivers dyked by the old Acadians. On these fat and dyked lands dwells another race, with other customs and language—in large modern farm-houses embowered in roses and honeysuckle. In fancy you can rebuild the old thatched cottages beside ancient apple-trees, with tall poplars and young willows branching widely out from decaying roots—sure signs of former habitation—at Grand Pré; the first person you meet points out where the sturdy blacksmith's shop stood, and the village church, and the wells, and the once filled cellars, now only grass depression on the face of green fields. Away to the north, across the Basin of Mines, grand old Blomidon uplifts to the sky his dark forehead.'

(8) It was these shores which exercised such an attraction upon the Protestant Frenchman Sieur de Monts. As Viceroy of Canada, and holding Henry IV's commission, he had set sail from Havre with four vessels in 1604. De Monts held enormous privileges under the terms of his Charter. His followers were men of all classes and descriptions, from the titled nobleman to the humble mechanic, but the general character of the settlement was in the main Protestant. De Monts held the exclusive control of the soil, government, and trade, and freedom of religion for Huguenot emigrants. The tangible result of his enterprise was the founding of Port Royal (1605) by Poutrincourt, as already

noticed. In his desire to strengthen French rule along the eastern littoral of North America, De Monts surveyed those sites and positions which were occupied shortly afterwards by New England.

(9) The possessions of Poutrincourt were in 1607 confirmed by Henry IV, the Pope gave his benediction to many French families who colonised the country with a view to evangelising the heathen, and two illustrious Catholic ladies, Mary de Medici and the Marchioness de Guercheville, gave money and support to the missions. In 1610 the order of the Jesuits, those most important promoters of colonisation schemes, was confirmed in some privileges by De Biencourt the son of the proprietor Poutrincourt. In 1612 De Biencourt himself and a Jesuit named Father Biart, whose zeal has already been alluded to, ascended the Kennebec and converted some of the Canibas, who were Algonkins, and hostile to the English colonists. Whilst Samuel Champlain (1608) was engaged in opening up the St. Lawrence and founding Quebec, De Monts and his successors were developing Nova Scotia and the adjacent mainland. Perhaps it would have been wiser on the part of the French to have founded on a secure and durable basis coast colonies from the St. Lawrence to the Penobscot. In the end the continent was destined to belong to those who held a strong position in the maritime provinces. But De Monts and his successors were unable to carry out any practical schemes of colonisation. A few Indians were converted, and the fur-trade was only taken up to be carried on in a desultory and half-hearted way. Owing to the representations of rivals at home, who had the King's ear, De Monts was recalled and deprived of his office and charter. Here, again, home politics in France interfered with schemes of Transatlantic colonisation.

(10) In 1621, during the reign of James I, Englishmen

made an attempt to succeed where Frenchmen had failed. Sir William Alexander, a Scottish knight, well known at the Court, obtained from the king a Charter granting him the whole of the peninsula, first named in this document as Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and the Gaspé Peninsula. The territory thus granted was to be held 'at a yearly quit-rent of one penny Scots, to be paid on the soil of Nova Scotia on the festival of the Nativity.' Four years after this Charter was issued Charles I, who had now succeeded James I, created a remarkable order of knights called the 'Knights Baronets of Nova Scotia.' They numbered 150, and each of them was entitled to receive a large grant of land on the condition that he would settle immigrants on it. The English were not allowed to try for a very long time the experiment begun by Sir W. Alexander. Colonial matters were at the mercy of European complications, and by the Treaty of St. Germain-en-Laye between the English and French, signed in 1632, Canada, Nova Scotia, and Cape Breton were handed back to France. This was disappointing to the settlers, as the English under Sir David Kirke, the Newfoundland settler, had practically expelled the French from Nova Scotia, conquered Port Royal, and even destroyed Tadousac, their fur-trading station on the St. Lawrence, and held Quebec.

(11) The French, however, kept their possessions for twenty-two years undisturbed. England was in the throes of Civil War, and had little time to turn her eyes abroad upon her distant settlements. But in 1654 Oliver Cromwell held the reins of government, and in his hands England's foreign and colonial policy was firm and decisive. The Protector, urged on by the Puritans both in New England and in the mother-country, who had always protested against the surrender of Nova Scotia, resolved to retake the country. This was

done with little difficulty, and the English flag was again hoisted at Port Royal. Sir Thomas Temple was made Governor, and ruled the settlement from 1654 to 1667.

(12) In 1667 Nova Scotia again changed hands in virtue of the Treaty of Breda. But the French and English settlers never agreed cordially. They were constantly disputing about the fisheries or the fur-trade, and intriguing with the Indians; and until the Treaty of Utrecht, there was one long-continued series of petty strifes. At one time the colonists waged war formally with the French. A night raid in midwinter by French and Indians upon the border colonies of New York, New Hampshire and Maine, had made the settlers rise as one man. As already noticed, two expeditions, one by sea against Port Royal and Quebec, and one by land against Montreal, were equipped by colonists and entrusted to the command of colonial leaders. The attack on Port Royal succeeded, but those on Montreal and Quebec failed. In the desultory warfare which followed, there were not wanting adventurers on both sides, both on the mainland and the peninsula, who maintained the strife with unusual means and with extraordinary cruelty. Villebon, the French Governor of Port Royal, retired from his post as being too exposed, and entrenched himself in a forest retreat at the mouth of the St. John's River. He kept large packs of dogs, with which he hunted down his enemies, and did not scruple to use the aid of bands of savage Indians. With Villebon lived a noted pirate, Baptiste by name, who sallied forth and plundered all who were so unfortunate as to come in his way. The deep woods and the wide estuaries of Fundy Bay gave every opportunity to pirates for successfully carrying on their nefarious occupation.

(13) All the devices and stratagems of the border feuds

of the inland provinces and settlements were reproduced along the maritime provinces. The English were destined to win the day in North America, and they won it here in the islands and peninsulas first of all. Subercase, the brave French commander, was compelled to surrender Port Royal, after a gallant resistance, in September, 1710. When the French flag was hauled down, one of the greatest and most important bulwarks of French power in the country was destroyed, and in honour of Queen Anne its name was changed to Annapolis. Shortly after the Treaty of Utrecht, the French built a town at Louisburg, in Cape Breton, which was still left to them, and made it the centre of their power. Thither many of the French colonists from Newfoundland and Nova Scotia retreated, the place itself occupying a commanding position with regard to the Gulf of St. Lawrence. It was built on a tongue of land stretching down between the harbour and Gabarus Bay, and was protected on all sides by fortifications. Seaward, there lay a rocky islet called Battery Island, and on the north-east, about a mile distant, was built the fort called the Grand Battery. This place was for many years a standing menace to the British colonists and to British power. A glance at the map will show the strength of its natural position, and it was not long before the final struggle for the Island of Cape Breton took place between English and French colonists.

CHAPTER XI.

Events between 1713–1758.

(1) By the Treaty of Utrecht the question of boundaries on the continent of America was left unsettled. The Island of Newfoundland and the Peninsula of Nova Scotia were clear geographical expressions, but no one could say what was really meant by Acadia. In the various French Charters the word was always used very vaguely. In this instance it might mean not only New Brunswick but much more besides. Moreover, it was agreed in the Treaty that France should never molest the Five Nations, subject to the Dominion of Great Britain. A door was left open for endless disputes. If England assumed a kind of protectorate over the Iroquois, she protected a vast region over which these savages had roamed in unrestricted freedom for centuries. The Iroquois held also the gates towards the west and the command of the Lake Country. The honours of exploration clearly rested with the French, and by right of their mission and trading stations they would be brought into conflict with any claims the British might advance. Canada comprised the whole basin of the St. Lawrence, and over this France still held sway. But Upper Canada meant another distinct geographical area. By a strained interpretation the British might have advanced that, when Fort Frontenac was razed and Montreal was in the possession of the Mohawks, Upper Canada was by the Treaty of Ryswick a part of the domain of the Iroquois, and therefore under British protection.

BOUNDARY WARS BETWEEN FRENCH & BRITISH, 1740-63.

showing also distribution of Native tribes (Bancroft), Valley of Mississippi and part of Louisiana, Coast Settlements, French and Spanish Florida, part of Louisiana and the Mississippi as first explored.

To face P.115. N°5

Oxford. University Press.

(2) The policy of the French was to shut up the British colonists behind the Alleghanies, and to keep them from the trade of the interior. On both sides rival fortresses arose. In 1722 Governor Burnet built Oswego on the southern shore of Lake Ontario, and in 1724 the Government of Massachusetts established Fort Dummer on the site of Brattleborough. As an answer to this the French built in 1726 Fort Niagara, and in 1731 established themselves in a strong position on Lake Champlain. The line of their forts stretched from Lake Erie to the Ohio River. George Washington, the Virginian planter, when a young man of twenty-one, was sent on to remonstrate with the French advances. He executed his perilous mission in the winter time, and was nearly drowned in the Alleghany river by the breaking up of the raft on which he was crossing it. The French officers told him, in answer, that their orders were to seize every Englishman in the Ohio Valley. If we consider the relative strength of the French and British colonists, it was not doubtful for whom victory would in the long run declare itself. At the time of the Accession of George I (1714) the continental colonies numbered 375,750 white inhabitants and 8850 blacks, increasing with great rapidity; the value of their imports from England was $2,000,000 and of their exports $1,700,000. The population of French Canada was about this time 26,000, of which Quebec had 7000 and Montreal 3000.

(3) One of the most notable exploits of the New England colonists was the capture of Louisburg in 1745. Colonel Pepperell took command of 4000 volunteers from Massachusetts, and early in the spring reached Canso. As Gabarus Bay, on which Fort Louisburg was built, was still blocked with ice, he had to wait. Here he was joined by Commodore Warren and several British men-of-war. After an interval of three weeks the combined

forces approached Louisburg. The landing was most difficult, and the Massachusetts men had to struggle through the surf to a difficult and precarious beach, the French disputing every inch of ground. The defenders had a great superiority in artillery. The walls of the fortress were mounted with 101 cannon, 76 swivels, and 6 mortars. The harbour was defended by an island battery of 30 twenty-two pounders, and by a royal battery on the shore armed with 30 large cannon, behind a moat and bastions. The garrison consisted of 600 regular soldiers and 1000 Breton militia. The American colonists were daring and courageous, and displayed the greatest perseverance in investing the fort, though as a body of troops they knew little of discipline. But the garrison were not able to take advantage of their inexperience by making sortie; for their commander Duchambon was ignorant of his duties. When the Vigilant, a French ship of 64 guns laden with supplies, was decoyed into the harbour by the English fleet and captured after some hours' fighting, the hearts of the besieged failed them. On June 17th the city, fort and batteries constituting 'the strongest fortress of North America' capitulated to the New England levies, consisting chiefly of mechanics, farmers and fishermen. The French soldiers were sent home on condition that they would not bear arms for twelve months against Great Britain. The news of the fall of Louisburg, the Dunkirk of America, was received with the greatest joy in Boston and London.

(4) In 1746 the French determined to revenge the fall of Louisburg. A powerful fleet was fitted out at Rochelle with the object not only of recovering Louisburg and Nova Scotia, but of chastising the New England colonies. Boston might indeed tremble at the fate in store for it. The command was given to D'Anville; but never was there a more unlucky expedition. Its fate was that of the Spanish Armada. Two of the ships were taken whilst

on the coast of France, some which had crossed the Atlantic were doomed to destruction on the inhospitable reefs of Sable Island, south-east of Nova Scotia, others were driven by storms far out of their course; and after a three months' voyage D'Anville reached Chebucto Harbour with a miserable remnant of the greatest fleet that had ever sailed for the New World. Disease was rife amongst his crews after their long voyage, and D'Anville, disheartened and sickened, fell ill, and in a frenzy killed himself with his sword. A body of French soldiers under Ramezay was sent from Quebec to co-operate with D'Anville's squadron. They distinguished themselves chiefly by a murderous and treacherous attack upon a body of New England colonists under Colonel Noble. Indians and French, advancing quickly over the snow in the depth of winter, burst unexpectedly upon the Massachusetts men, who were quartered at Grand Pré in Nova Scotia, and killed eighty of them in their sleep. In 1748, Cape Breton, by the terms of the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, was restored to the French in exchange for Madras. But the boundaries between the possessions of France and England were as shadowy as ever on the continent itself. Neither party acknowledged the right of the other to the basin of the Penobscot or Ohio.

(5) To guard the route to the Ohio Valley the English began to build a fort at the junction of the Alleghany and Monongahela rivers. But they were driven off by the French, who seized the position and built on it Fort du Quesne. George Washington erected further south another fort called Fort Necessity. In Nova Scotia the French strengthened their position by building Fort Beausejour, and a second at the head of Bay Verte. The English under Major Lawrence built Fort Lawrence about a mile from Beausejour. In every part of North America the French and English were facing one another

from behind entrenched positions. It was a struggle for the outposts. The time for the final fight for the citadel had not come just yet. The increase of population in the English colonies must be considered here again as a most powerful factor. In 1754, it was calculated that the colonists numbered 1,165,000 souls. Any one of the six American settlements was more populous than all Canada, and the aggregate of our American settlements exceeded that of Canada fourteen-fold.

(6) In 1755, four expeditions against the French were planned by General Braddock at Alexandria as follows. Lawrence, the Lieutenant-Governor of Nova Scotia, was to drive the French from disputed territories there, Johnson was to enroll Mohawk warriors, and lead them against Crown Point on Lake Champlain, Shirley was to attack Niagara, and Braddock himself was to recover the Ohio Valley and the North-West. Braddock expected an easy progress from one end of the country to the other. Forts Du Quesne, Niagara and Frontenac, he thought, would fall in easy succession. Benjamin Franklin, with his ripe experience, warned him of the skill of the Indians in laying ambuscades, but Braddock answered, 'The Savages may be formidable to your raw American Militia; upon the King's Regulars and disciplined troops it is impossible they should make any impression;' showing that self-sufficing spirit and fatal complacency which was to cost him as dear as it has many of our generals in later wars, especially in African border campaigns. Washington joined the expedition with some trained militiamen, and asked for the post of honour, but was contemptuously ordered to the rear.

General Braddock then led his troops into an ambuscade, where they were shot down helplessly, without being able to see their foes and return their fire. Of 86 officers, 26 were killed and 37 wounded; of privates, 714 were

killed or wounded. The French and Indians lost only 3 officers and 30 men. In this action Washington fought bravely, ever in the thick of the struggle, and seemed to bear a charmed life. Braddock fell mortally wounded after having had five horses shot under him. 'Who would have thought it?' cried the dying general, undeceived at last; and his last words to Dunbar, his friend and comrade, were, 'We shall know better how to deal with them another time.'

(7) In Nova Scotia the power of England was riveted by two acts, one of them of colonisation and settlement and the other of expatriation. In 1749 on the waters of Chebucto Harbour, where D'Anville's shattered fleet had sought refuge three years before, a British fleet lay at anchor. It carried on board a large number of emigrants from the old country, who had been tempted out by the free grants of land, a year's provision, farming tools and other gifts from the Government, which resolved to found a colony at Chebucto Harbour, to be at once a permanent sign of British occupation and a bulwark against all enemies. More than 2500 colonists were planted here at the expense of the Government, and the new city was called Halifax, in honour of Earl Halifax, the President of the Board of Trade and Plantations. The formation of the settlement was entrusted to Governor Cornwallis.

(8) In addition to Halifax, the town of Dartmouth was founded during the following year; and in 1753 no fewer than 2000 Germans came out and settled near Halifax, at Lunenburg. The Indians proved dangerous neighbours, and harried the colonists whenever they had the chance. The loyalty also of the French Acadians, who numbered in all about 15,000, was questionable. The struggle between French and English all over the New World had been of a desperate character. Forts had been

captured and recaptured many times over, frontier disputes regarding the fur trade were continual, and boundary difficulties, whether in the Peninsula of Nova Scotia or in the valleys of the Ohio, were never really settled. For the present it was felt that English and French could not live together as neighbours, especially when the latter would not own allegiance[1].

(9) The year 1755 is noted for the expulsion of the Acadians from Nova Scotia. Since the Treaty of Utrecht the French settlers had lived in quiet seclusion. The poet Longfellow has created by his Evangeline a deep sympathy for the simple Roman Catholic peasantry of Grand Pré and the valleys along the Annapolis basin. In the villages and hamlets the priests had the greatest influence, and when they saw the British settlers surrounding them and threatening to overwhelm them, said, 'Better surrender your meadows to the sea and your houses to the flames than, at the peril of your souls, take the oath of allegiance to the British Government.' The British officials were stern and unbending, and Earl Halifax the Governor said to a band of memorialists, 'You want your canoes for carrying provisions to the enemy. Guns are no part of your goods, as by the laws of England all Roman Catholics are restrained from having arms, and are subject to penalties if arms are found in their houses.' It must be remembered how bitter the quarrel was in Europe and America between Protestants and Roman Catholics, and how stern the spirit of religious intolerance on both sides. Moreover, the English colonists could not forget that the Roman Catholic priests, in the valleys of the Kennebec and of the Penobscot, had been leagued with those Indian bands which had carried fire and sword amongst their scattered settlements. At Grand Pré 418 unarmed Acadians were summoned to the church

[1] See Appendix v.

to hear an official order. Winslow, the American commander, stood in their centre and said, 'You are convened together to manifest to you His Majesty's final resolution to the French inhabitants of this his province. Your lands and tenements, cattle of all kinds, and live stock of all sorts, are forfeited to the Crown, and you yourselves are to be removed from this his province. I am, through his Majesty's goodness, directed to allow you liberty to carry off your money and household goods, as many as you can without incommoding the vessels you go in.' The men were then made prisoners and the stern order of expatriation carried out to the letter, 7000 in all being driven on board ship to be taken southward and scattered amongst the New England colonies from New Hampshire to Georgia, 1020 to South Carolina alone, where their descendants are still to be found.

(10) Whilst these international quarrels and disputes were being carried on in Lower Canada and in the Maritime Provinces, the task of North-West exploration was being boldly grappled with by a distinguished Frenchman of the name of Verendrye. The voyages and journeys of such great path-finders in North America form an agreeable divergence from the uniform story of massacres and cruelties in the eastern regions of Canada. Verendrye began life as a French officer. He served his country both in Europe and in New France. In 1704 he is heard of as one of the band of frontier marauders who at unexpected places and times hurled themselves upon the New England colonists in their isolated hamlets. In 1706 he served his country more honourably in the Low Countries, and gained distinction at the battle of Malplaquet (1709), where he was left for dead upon the field. After this he held for seventeen years the post of Governor of Three Rivers, when, attracted partly by hopes of gain and partly by the romance of the adventures

to be experienced in these regions, he conducted a series of explorations in the Far West. The knowledge of geography was not very great in those days. There was still a prevalent idea that the great southern sea or the west could be reached by means of some river or waterway running through the continent. Long after Champlain's theory about the St. Lawrence was proved to be wholly inaccurate, other explorers had the same idea about the Ohio and Mississippi, and at one time the Chicahominy in Virginia was guessed to be this western river. Some again thought that America and Asia would be found to be really one vast continent.

(11) On May 19, 1731, Verendrye set out on his adventurous journey, and the following is the description given :—

'With father Messager, a Jesuit missionary, he left Michillimakinac, and on August 26 he was ready to cross the Grand Portage, at a point forty-five miles further along the coast than the present site of Fort William on the Kaministiquia. From this point he was to adventure himself in a region perfectly unknown to Europeans. His goal was Lake Winnipeg [Ouinipigon]. This was the destination named by the Indian guide, and to this point he was bound in his agreement with the Governor to go, but whether it was a hundred or a thousand leagues distant, no one could tell. The traveller, who in late years has passed over the Dawson route, can have no difficulty in following the pioneer who opened the way—a way of some 450 miles of canoe route and portage. . . . In the second year of Verendrye's journey (1732), the Lake of the Woods was crossed, bearing then the Indian name Lake Minitie, and receiving the French name Des Bois. On its shores, in honour of their patron Beauharnois, Fort St. Charles was erected. Now, leaving what is known as the Dawson

route, they followed the line taken by the Red River expedition, under Colonel Wolseley, in 1870, and descended from the Lake of the Woods the difficult but picturesque river Winnipeg, calling it after the French Minister Maurepas, until they reached Winnipeg—the "Ultima Thule" even of Indian hearsay. And now the Rocky region that we have learned in later years to call the Laurentian—extending through from Labrador to Lake Winnipeg—ceases, and the explorers ascend from Lake Winnipeg the Red River at a point where to-day stands the city of Winnipeg. With what a look of wonder would the daring Frenchman now gaze upon the city of Winnipeg, with its smoking manufactories and lofty church steeples! The Assiniboine he named St. Charles after the Governor, and to a branch of this river, the Souris, he gave the name of St. Pierre, the favourite location of new settlers arriving in the north-west[1].'

(12) Verendrye and his sons did an immense deal of exploring in the north-west. One of these sons was surprised and murdered by the Sioux. Their greatest exploit was the discovery of the Rocky Mountains in 1742–3, sixty years before the expedition of the Americans Clarke and Lewis. The Verendryes explored not only the sources of the Missouri, but the region further north in the valley of the Saskatchewan. The furthest point reached was Bourbon. They also gave a name to the Forks up the river, calling it Poskoiac. An immense region was thus opened up, and fur traders and explorers followed quickly in their wake. Beyond the Saskatchewan the Athabasca was discovered flowing from the Rocky Mountains into a lake bearing its name; and further north the Peace or Unjigah river—described afterwards

[1] Bryce. Manitoba: its infancy, growth, and present condition, 1882.

in Sir W. Butler's 'Wild North Land' as rising on the west side of the Rockies, and rushing eastwards through an immense gorge. At the junction of the Athabasca and Peace rivers *Fort Chippewyan* was erected, holding a natural vantage-ground for further discoveries to the Arctic Sea and to the Pacific Ocean. About the same time further explorations of the Hudson's Bay littoral were carried on by the English. In 1741 Captain Christopher Middleton, with His Majesty's ships Furnace and Discovery, sailed from England for Churchill River in Hudson's Bay, with a view of discovering a passage from this bay to the South Sea direct. He named Cape Dobbs, latitude 65° 10′ N. and longitude 86° 06′ W., and the river Wager after Sir Charles Wager, first Lord Commissioner of the Admiralty. His extreme point was reached on Sunday, August 8, 1742, in latitude 65° 41′, longitude 85° 22′. In his log the explorer writes: 'We saw very high land fifteen or twenty leagues to the southward of our station, which I take to run towards Cape Comfort, being the furthest that Bylot went; and the bay which Fox named Lord Weston's Portland, in part of Hudson's North Bay, about north-west from the west end of Nottingham, by comparing our longitude made with Fox's and Bylot's. As this last-mentioned bay and strait is quite full of ice not likely to be thawed this year, at least till very late, so as to allow time for a discovery, it was resolved in council to make the best of our way into Hudson's Bay homewards[1].'

These explorations were scarcely within the Arctic Circle, and were confined entirely to the north-west extremity of Hudson's Bay.

[1] The Geography of Hudson's Bay; by Captain W. Coats.

CHAPTER XII.

Montcalm and Wolfe (1758–1763).

(1) In Europe the Great Powers were entering upon that long and fierce struggle known as 'The Seven Years' War.' William Pitt in 1758 was at the head of the Government, called there by the popular voice. He entertained magnificent ideas of England's position not only in Europe, but in the world. In America, Pitt was determined to win and to carry on the colonisation of the continent under the auspices of Protestantism, rather than that of France leagued with the Roman Catholics. Pitt pursued a popular policy with the colonists, and rejecting the coercive policy of his predecessors invited the willing co-operation of all. England was to provide arms, ammunition and tents, the colonists were to levy, pay and clothe the men. Montcalm wrote in 1758 in a despondent frame of mind, 'New France needs peace, or sooner or later it must fall; such are the numbers of the English, such the difficulty of our receiving supplies.'

(2) At first, however, victory declared itself for the French. Montcalm destroyed Oswego on the south of Lake Ontario, and Fort William Henry on Lake George. In his expeditions he was assisted by Indians, who committed atrocious cruelties. Lord Loudon and Admiral Holborne, who came over with a large force from England to attack Louisburg, ignominiously failed, and the French still held the entrance to the St. Lawrence. But the campaign in North America was soon taken up in earnest. Three expeditions were set on foot.

Amherst and Wolfe were to join the fleet under Admiral Boscawen, for the second siege of Louisburg; the conquest of Ohio was entrusted to Forbes, and Abercrombie and Howe were to attack Ticonderoga and Crown Point.

(3) In June, 1758, Amherst invested Louisburg, which had again passed into the hands of the French by the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle (1748). The smaller works were soon carried, and the British cannon brought to bear upon the defences; the French ships in the port were taken and burnt, and in a month's time the capture of Louisburg was complete. Halifax being England's naval station, Louisburg was left in ruins, and all signs of this bulwark of France on the coast disappeared entirely. With this fort fell Cape Breton Island and Prince Edward Island. The garrison of 5637 became prisoners of war, and were sent to England.

(4) The next point was Lake George. Here there were gathered 9000 colonists from New England, New York, and New Jersey, and 6300 regulars. This was the largest army that had yet been assembled on American soil. Unfortunately this expedition miscarried. The gallant young Lord Howe was killed, and the command devolved upon the incompetent Abercrombie. After a great deal of costly fighting the British withdrew, leaving 2000 dead. Montcalm had proved his skill as a general, fighting against great odds, and still held Ticonderoga. But the French lost Forts Frontenac and Du Quesne, two most important posts. Bradstreet at the head of 2700 men, all Americans, crossed Lake Ontario, and landing within a mile of Fort Frontenac, took it and destroyed the military stores and vessels they found there. Forbes, with Washington at the head of 1900 Virginians, penetrated to the Ohio Valley, and the English flag was soon waving over Fort Du Quesne, whence the disheartened French garrison of about 500 had fled at the

approach of the overwhelming force. The fort was renamed Pittsburg, after the great statesman, and is one of the most lasting memorials of his fame. Whilst the troops were here they revisited the fatal Braddock's field to see the vestiges still left of the terrible carnage of three years before. This is the description given by Bancroft of the ghastly horrors of the place :—

'Here and there a skeleton was found resting on the trunk of a fallen tree, as if a wounded man had sunk down in the attempt to fly. In some places wolves and crows had left signs of their ravages : in others the blackness of ashes marked the scene of the revelry of cannibals. The trees still showed branches rent by cannon, trunks dotted with musket balls. Where the havoc had been fiercest, bones lay whitening in confusion. None could be recognised, except that the son of Sir Peter Halket was called by the shrill whistle of a savage to the great tree near which his father and his brother had been seen to fall together ; and while Benjamin West and a company of Pennsylvanians formed a circle around, the Indians removed the leaves, till they bared the relics of the youth lying across those of the elder officer. The remains of the two, thus united in death, were wrapped in a Highland plaid, and consigned to one grave, amidst the ceremonies that belong to the burial of the brave. The bones of the undistinguishable multitude, more than four hundred and fifty in number, were indiscriminately cast into the ground, no one knowing for whom specially to weep. The chilling gloom of the forest at the coming of winter, the religious awe that mastered the savages, the grief of the son fainting at the fearful recognition of his father, the groups of soldiers sorrowing over the ghastly ruins of an army, formed a sombre scene of desolation. How is all changed ! The banks of the broad and placid Monongahela smile with

orchards and teeming harvests and gardens, with workshops and villas; the victories of peace have effaced the memorials of war: a railroad, that sends its cars over the Alleghanies in fewer hours than the army had taken weeks for its unresisted march, passes through the scene where the carnage was the worst; and in all that region no sound now prevails but that of life and activity[1]."

Here it will be remembered Washington was in the midst of the fighting, and escaped almost miraculously. But he was reserved for a great and brilliant destiny. After five years of active service he now resigned, and was chosen by the people of Fredericton as their representative. In the House of Representatives he was publicly and deservedly thanked for his valour.

(5) In 1759 the final struggle was to come. The condition of Montcalm was desperate, and after Cape Breton was taken and the southern forts fell, his troops at the St. Lawrence were a beleaguered garrison, rather than an army capable of taking the offensive. England was bent on conquering the French in North America, and Parliament voted twelve millions of money that year, and such forces as should be required. The campaign was arranged as follows. In the west, Stanwin was ordered to complete the conquest of the forts beyond Pittsburg and in the direction of Lake Erie; Amherst was to advance upon Lake Champlain from Virginia; while the most important command was given to General Wolfe, who was placed at the head of the troops along the St. Lawrence, and supported by Admiral Saunders and the fleet. The objective, to use a military phrase,

[1] Bancroft's Hist. of the United States, vol. iii. ch. xiii. Readers will remember Tacitus' fine terse description of the Roman army under Tiberius coming upon the field where Varus and his legions had six years before been massacred by Arminius and the Cheruscans; Annals, I. 61-62.

was Quebec, the last great stronghold of the French in Canada. The colonists, used to warfare for many years, and regarding the struggle in the light of an hereditary feud, handed down to them from the very foundation of their settlements, when they had to fight for bare life and existence against French and Indian, rushed into the campaign with enthusiasm. Massachusetts sent 7000 men into the field, nearly one-sixth of all those who could bear arms. Connecticut, as in the previous year, raised 5000 men. New Jersey had lost 1000 men, yet she raised willingly 1000 more, and the amount she spent on military purposes amounted to an annual tax of five dollars for each inhabitant.

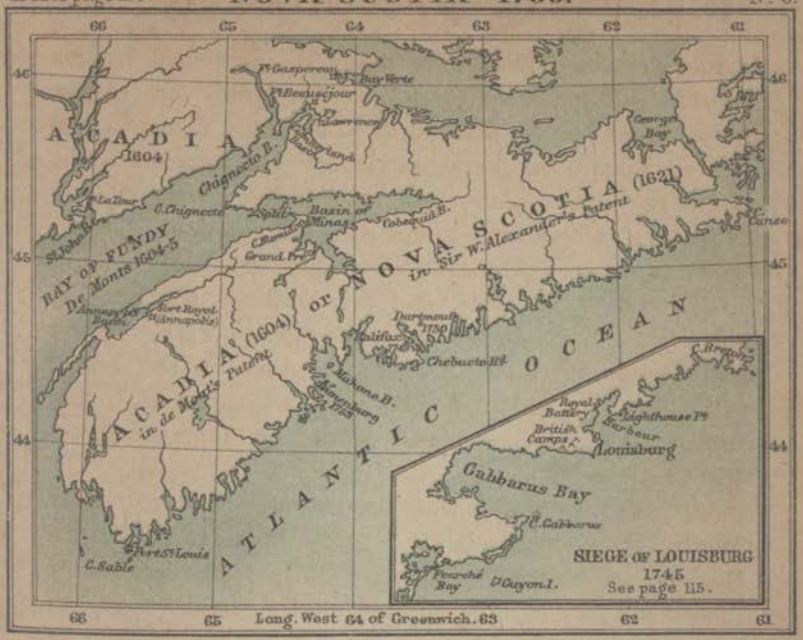
(6) Montcalm gained little assistance from France, and the king told him that he relied on his zeal and obstinacy of courage. But he could do nothing against great odds. The whole population of New France was, according to the census, not more than 82,000, of whom 7000 were available as soldiers. The English were thought to have nearly 50,000 troops under arms in 1759. The first post to fall was Niagara. Commanding the portage between Lakes Ontario and Erie, it was a most important place and controlled the western fur trade. The French, 1200 strong, under General D'Aubry, marched to its relief, but they were defeated with great slaughter. The garrison at Niagara, consisting of 600 men, capitulated, and all the forts westward as far as Lake Erie fell into British hands.

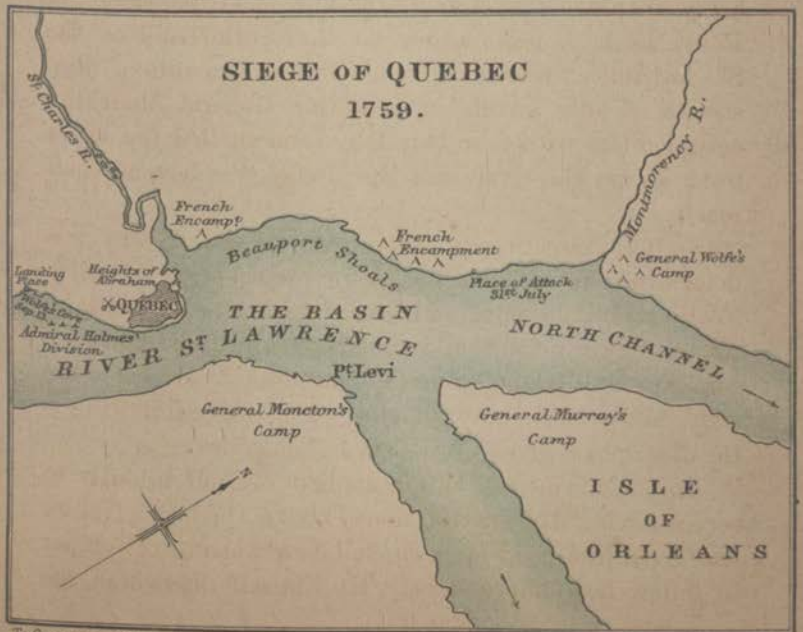
(7) Amherst, the Commander-in-chief, met with some success along Lake Champlain, but the real interest of the whole campaign was centred at Quebec. Wolfe's army consisted of eight regiments, two battalions of royal Americans, three companies of rangers, and a brigade of engineers, about 8000 in all. The fleet under Saunders numbered 22 ships of the line, and as many frigates and

armed vessels. There were many distinguished British officers in the attacking force. On board one of the ships was Jervis, afterwards Earl St. Vincent, and James Cook, the great navigator who explored the southern seas. Amongst the soldiers were Robert Monckton, afterwards conqueror of Martinique, George Townshend, elder brother of Charles Townshend, soon to succeed to the title, and Sir William Howe. The siege lasted from June 26th to September 13th. Wolfe had closely invested Quebec. Landing on the Island of Orleans, he had made this his headquarters. Before him, on the northern bank of the St. Lawrence, rose the Castle of St. Louis, 200 feet above the water. The mouth of the St. Charles on the east, and the river Montmorency on the North-East, had been fortified with the greatest skill by Montcalm. The place was almost inaccessible by nature, and behind the defences was an army of 13,000 Frenchmen. Wolfe gained possession of Point Levi, a promontory on the south bank of the St. Lawrence, where the current narrows into a deep stream of only a mile in breadth. General Monckton occupied this with four battalions, and shelled the lower town across the river, but the citadel was beyond their reach.

(8) The season was getting late, and Wolfe was determined to strike a desperate blow before it ended. Wolfe was ill himself, and four days before his death he wrote, 'My constitution is entirely ruined, without the consolation of having done any considerable service to the state, and without any prospect of it.' The following is the description given of his last heroic effort :—

'In the meantime, Wolfe applied himself intently to reconnoitring the north shore above Quebec. Nature had given him good eyes, as well as a warmth of temper to follow first impressions. He himself discovered the


66
65
64
63
62
61
46
45
44
ACADIA
1604
Chignecto R.
Chignecto
Basin of Minas
Cobequid B.
Grand Pre
St John's
RAY OF FUNDY
De Monts 1604-5
NOVA SCOTIA (1621)
in Sir W. Alexander's Patent
or
ACADIA (1604)
in de Monts's Patent
Annapolis Royal
Port Royal (Annapolis)
Port Royal
Mahone B.
Lunenburg
Halifax
Chebucto Hd
Canso
ATLANTIC OCEAN
Louisburg
Royal Battery
Lighthouse Pt
Grand Battery
British Camps
Gabbarus Bay
C. Gabbarus
Fourché Bay
D'Orgon I.
C. Sable
Port St Louis
SIEGE OF LOUISBURG
1745
See page 115.
Long. West 64 of Greenwich. 63


SIEGE OF QUEBEC
1759.
St Charles R.
Montmorency R.
French Encamp.t
Beauport Shoals
French Encampment
General Wolfe's Camp
Landing Place
Heights of Abraham
Place of Attack 31st July
QUEBEC
THE BASIN
NORTH CHANNEL
Admiral Holmes' Division
RIVER St LAWRENCE
Pt Levi
General Moncton's Camp
General Murray's Camp
ISLE OF ORLEANS

cove which now bears his name, where the bending promontories almost form a basin with a very narrow margin, over which the hill rises precipitously. He saw the path that wound up the steep, though so narrow that two men could scarcely walk abreast, and he knew, by the number of tents which he counted on the summit, that the Canadian post which guarded it could not exceed a hundred.'

Here he resolved to land his army by surprise. To mislead the enemy, his troops were kept far above the town: while Saunders, as if an attack was intended at Beauport, set Cook, with others, to sound the water and plant buoys along that shore.

The day and night of September 12 were employed in preparation. The autumn evening was bright; and the general, under the clear starlight, visited the stations to make his final inspection and utter his last words of encouragement. As he passed up the river to the place where he was to land, he spoke to those in the boat with him of the poet Gray and 'The Elegy in a Country Churchyard.' 'I,' said he, 'would prefer being the author of that poem, to the glory of beating the French to-morrow;' and, while the oars struck the river as it rippled in the silence of the night air under the flowing tide, he repeated—

> 'The boast of Heraldry, the pomp of Power,
> And all that Beauty, all that Wealth e'er gave,
> Await alike the inevitable Hour;
> The paths of Glory lead but to the Grave.'

The ascent was made in the night, and at daybreak Wolfe stood on the Plains of Abraham. Montcalm was astonished, and exclaimed when he first heard the news of the assault, 'It can be but a small party come to burn a few houses and retire.' But he soon saw that the position was lost, and proceeded to give battle. The

opposing forces were evenly matched, and the battle was hotly contested, until at last Wolfe at the head of the 28th and the Louisburg grenadiers charged with bayonets. The enemy gave way before the line of steel, but Wolfe fell mortally wounded. Assured in his dying moments of the complete rout of the enemy, he exclaimed, 'Thank God, I die happy.' Montcalm also fell. Knowing that he must die within a few hours, he said to De Ramsay, the governor of the citadel, 'To your keeping I commend the honour of France. As for me, I shall pass the night with God, and prepare myself for death.' He died at five o'clock the next morning.

(9) The end of both these men, who had been fighting as it were a duel for the dominion of Canada, was great and heroic. Montcalm had displayed extraordinary skill in his defence of the French possessions; but when Louisburg, the Forts of Niagara, Crown Point, Du Quesne were taken, the end could not be far off. Little by little he became isolated and cut off on the St. Lawrence, the British holding the command of the seas. No more could a Transatlantic Empire arise at the bidding of the French kings, though on many subsequent occasions her rulers, and amongst them Napoleon I and Napoleon III, dreamed of another France across the seas in South America.

(10) In 1760 the French under De Lévi made a desperate attempt to recapture Quebec. Their army numbered 7000, and General Murray, imprudently risking a battle, was defeated and forced to take refuge in the city. But relief came by sea to the British, and De Lévi retreated. Meantime the British forces, numbering from 15,000 to 20,000, now closed around Montreal, and the French Governor Vaudreuil surrendered.

(11) By the Treaty of Paris, 1763, France ceded to Great Britain, Canada, Cape Breton, St. John's Island, and all

the islands along the coast-line, except Miquelon and St. Pierre, which were retained as fishing stations. The French Canadians, who numbered about 65,000, became British subjects. They obtained honourable terms, and were secured in the possession of their property and the free enjoyment of their religion. King George was overjoyed at the terms of the peace; 'England,' he exclaimed, 'never signed such a peace before, nor, I believe, any other power in Europe.' Grenville professed, 'The country never saw so glorious a war or so honourable a peace;' and Bute declared, 'I wish no better inscription on my tomb than that I was its author.' But this peace carried with it the germs of other events. Far-seeing men understood that when the French power at the St. Lawrence was sufficiently humbled the colonists of New England would assert their independence. Vergennes the French ambassador at Constantinople observed, 'The consequences of the cession of Canada are obvious. I am persuaded England will ere long repent of having removed the only check that could keep her colonists in awe. They stand no longer in need of her protection: she will call on them to contribute towards supporting the burden they have helped to bring upon her, and they will answer by striking off all dependence.' England has indeed somewhat rashly been called the Transient Trustee of North America, commissioned to transfer it from France to a new nation. The victory of Wolfe carried with it the seeds of other and greater events.

CHAPTER XIII.

England's Colonial Policy (1763–1783).

(1) AFTER 1763 the history of North America assumes a completely different aspect from that which it had borne hitherto. From the very beginning the fight had been between Great Britain and her colonies on the one side, and France and her allies on the other. The islands, promontories, rivers and lakes of North America had been the scene of almost incessant warfare for 150 years. Now that the rivalry of France was removed, the struggle became a fratricidal war between Great Britain and her colonists who had always helped her. In 1776 a Congress of colonial delegates met at Philadelphia and declared the independence of the Thirteen Colonies; and after a sanguinary struggle lasting until 1783, the United States of America became an independent nation. The war cost the mother-country £100,000,000 and fifty thousand lives. The most prominent cause of this costly and unprofitable struggle was the grievance of the American colonists that their commerce was confined by arbitrary legislation. They could not export the chief products of their industry—sugar, tobacco, cotton, indigo, ginger, molasses, peltry, ore, raw silk, hides, etc.—to any place but Great Britain; nor might any foreign vessel enter a colonial harbour. 'Lest the colonies should multiply their flocks of sheep and weave their own cloth, they might not use a ship, nor a boat, nor a carriage, nor even a pack-horse to carry wool, or any manufacture of which wool forms a part, across the line of one province

to another. They could not land wool from the nearest islands, nor ferry it across a river, nor even ship it to England. A British sailor finding himself in want of clothes in their harbours might not buy there more than forty shillings' worth of woollens. Where was there a house in the colonies that did not cherish, and did not possess the English Bible? And yet to print that Bible in British America would have been a piracy.'

(2) America abounded in iron ores of the best quality, as well as in wood and in coal, but steel furnaces and plating forges were prohibited. In addition to this checking of free labour and crushing of native industries, direct and indirect taxes were to be levied and stamp duties were to be enforced everywhere. As smuggling went on largely, naval and military officers were converted into excisemen, and given powers to search every ship they suspected. Nothing could have been more unwise and impolitic than to make the Services assist in such a thankless task as collecting an unpopular revenue. It made the colonists detest the sight of the British uniforms. To us, by the light of modern times, this policy seems unexampled in its folly and shortsightedness, but we must take into consideration the temper of the age.

(3) The colonial system of those days was simple and dogmatic. Stated in Lord Sheffield's words: 'The only use of the American colonies is the monopoly of their consumption and the carriage of their produce.' Even Pitt the great Commoner, who sympathised greatly with the colonists in many ways, said that 'They had no right to manufacture even a nail for a horse-shoe.' In those days no one dreamed of a colony possessing full responsible Government, and developing its own industries and trading. By the provisions of the Stamp Act (1763) an easy revenue seemed to be assured to the

Imperial Government. But this was by its very nature a vexatious impost. Without stamps, marriages would be null, notes of hand valueless, ships at sea prizes to the first captors, suits at law impossible, transfers of real estates invalid, and inheritances irreclaimable. In every relation of life the stamp obtruded itself as a visible grievance. American colonists, from one end of the country to the other, rose up in angry protest against it. The popular cry was 'Liberty, property, and no stamps.'

(4) To remedy the obnoxious character of the Act, the clumsy expedient was adopted of employing colonists as collectors. In Virginia and elsewhere these officers were compelled by an angry mob to resign. In England the outburst of passionate feeling was received with some surprise. The possibility of an ultimate appeal to arms was discussed. There were in North America at this time about 300,000 white men between the ages of 16 and 60. It would not be difficult for them to put 150,000 fighting men in the field. In the last wars against the French the colonists had raised, clothed and paid for a force of 25,000 men who had learnt the art of war from disciplined troops. Pennsylvania alone had disbursed £500,000. The British forces in the country at that time did not exceed 5000 men, scattered about over enormous tracts of country. If there was a rupture between England and her colonists it was certain that France and Spain would assist the Americans. In case of hostilities, trade would be dislocated and the colonists learn to manufacture for themselves. Already the difficulty of this Stamp Act had stopped one-third of the manufactures of Manchester, and thrown out of employment thousands of workmen. Well might England's ministers halt in their proposal to enforce the tax.

(5) Moreover, a number of zealous and eloquent members of Parliament condemned the measure and the

policy, but it was hard to get out of the old grooves and to surrender the point. Pitt pronounced for the repeal, but Grenville was inexorable. In Febuary, 1766, the Act was repealed in Parliament by a majority of 275 to 167. For a time the American colonists were pacified. They had won their point, but England's ministers had not learned the lesson. When the attempt was again made to tax the colonies by imposing a tax on tea the flames of rebellion burst forth. The opposite poles of sentiment were fairly represented in the British House of Commons when the question of taxing America was before the House. Charles Townshend, who had been engaged in Wolfe's expeditions, and was supposed to understand the whole subject, said, 'Will these American children, planted by our care, nourished by our indulgence to a degree of strength and opulence, and protected by our arms, grudge to contribute their mite to relieve us from the heavy burden under which we lie?' To this appeal Isaac Barre, who had been the friend and companion of Wolfe and had fought at Louisburg and Quebec, protested with vehemence.

'They planted by your care! No: your oppressions planted them in America. They fled from your tyranny to an uncultivated, inhospitable country, where they exposed themselves to almost all the hardships to which human nature is liable: and, among others, to the cruelties of a savage foe. . . . They nourished by your indulgence! They grew by your neglect of them. As soon as you began to care about them, that care was exercised in sending persons to rule them in one department and another, who were, perhaps, the deputies of deputies to some members of this House, sent to spy out their liberties, to misrepresent their actions, and to prey upon them; men whose behaviour on many occasions has caused the blood of these sons of Liberty to

recoil within them. . . . They protected by your arms! They have nobly taken up arms in your defence: have exerted a valour, amidst their constant and laborious industry, for the defence of a country whose frontier was drenched in blood while its interior parts yielded all its little savings to your emolument.'

(6) In 1763 there had been a dispute about military command between England and Pennsylvania. This State was willing to levy, keep, and pay a force of 700 colonists on its own account to act against the Indians, but refused to place them under the orders of the British General. This policy proved the friction of the times. Quite recently a similar case arose in South Africa. In 1879 the war against the Kaffir clans of the Gaikas and Galekas was being carried on. The conduct of the war was vested in General Sir Arthur Cunynghame, the Commander-in-chief, but the colonists refused to serve under his orders. The matter ended in the dismissal of the colonial ministry by Sir Bartle Frere, and the choice of a new cabinet who were willing to subordinate their troops to imperial officers. It is clear that a divided command on the frontier, whether in fighting against Indians in 1763 or Kaffirs in 1879, is an evil, nay, almost an impracticable thing.

(7) Again, with the exception of New York, the New England Governments were formed on Republican principles, and these principles were zealously inculcated in the minds of the rising generation. It was part of the policy of the Board of Trade, which at that time had the control of colonial affairs, to add to the importance of New York at the expense of the others, for the very reason that its Government was framed more exactly after the model of the British Constitution. In South Carolina there was friction in another matter. The Governor claimed the exclusive right of administering the oaths to the members of their Assembly, and became,

therefore, the sole judge of elections. Against this prerogative the people of South Carolina protested. All these incidents should have made our statesmen at home trebly cautious in dealing with colonial rights and privileges. To a certain extent England had allowed her colonies to develop in their own way, and then she put the curb on. The line between colonial right and imperial privilege was very wavering and indistinct. There was a contradiction in the whole position which was not discernible in the French or Spanish methods of colonisation. With them colonial freedom, to the extent to which the New England settlements had felt it and put it in practice in local matters, was unknown. The New Englanders had tasted the sweets of self-government, but were denied the logical outcome of this concession. To give representative institutions, and to uphold such a despotic act as that of the Governor of South Carolina, was like 'lighting a fire in a room where the chimney was stopped,' to use Gibbon Wakefield's simile.

(8) Then there was the strong argument for liberty gathered from the forests, lakes, and wide rivers of a vast country. Coleridge has said of Liberty :—

> 'And there I felt thee!—on that sea-cliff's verge,
> Whose pines, scarce travelled by the breeze above,
> Had made one murmur with the distant surge.
> Yes, while I stood and gazed, my temples bare,
> And shot my being through earth, sea, and air,
> O Liberty! my spirit felt thee there!'

In this way colonists have felt the spirit of liberty. It is engendered by the very circumstances of a free colonial life. It is felt by the Australian as he looks over the illimitable spaces of his magnificent island continent; it is felt by the New Zealander as he roams over the wide expanses of the Canterbury plains and views in ecstasy the wild cliffs and precipices of his Southern Alps; it is

felt by the South African colonist who, whether Boer or British, sees the veldt and the desert-like expanses of a boundless country before him, inviting him as sole white pioneer to assume sovereign rights over all. The Boers in fact looked upon themselves as a chosen people called by Providence to occupy a Canaan. In like manner it was felt by the lumberer, farmer, fisherman, and voyageur of Canada or the United States, as he became a path-finder through tall and silent forests, hunted as he chose along lake or river, and followed the buffalo over a prairie boundless as the ocean. Too little perhaps has been allowed by home-staying politicians to this ever-present sense of liberty coming from the face of nature to the pioneers and settlers of our race. To the sportsman and explorer it became an instinct. In England a man looks round upon a carefully tilled and cultivated expanse of land with every right of way jealously guarded. On the frontiers of our colonies men were not 'cribbed, cabined, or confined.' There was no fence or law of trespass, and each man's natural instincts were given full play.

(9) Burke has traced American liberty to six capital sources. (1) Descent; the colonists were Englishmen, and the worst agent to dragoon an Englishman into submission was an Englishman. (2) Form of Government. (3) Religion in the northern provinces. (4) Manners in the southern;—observing, truly, that where a white population is either slave-owning, or if not this an aristocratic minority in the midst of an inferior native race, there is the most uncompromising and unbending spirit. (5) Education. Burke reminded the House of Commons that in no country in the world was the law so general a study as in these colonies. The greater number of the Deputies sent to the Congress were lawyers. (6) Remoteness of situation from the first mover of Government.

(10) There is no page of ancient or modern history fraught with more interest than these twenty years. Under entirely new conditions in the history of the world a nation was destined to arise which, after 100 years has increased her population by twenty-fold (from 3,100,000 to more than 60,000,000), reclaimed the greater part of a continent, and still looks forward to a great and thrilling future. Nor has there ever been a short period of history so disputed and discussed as this. It has been the battle-ground of rival theorists, constitutionalists, philosophers and historians. There was nothing like the struggle before, and it was in reality a precedent in itself. As in all disputes, whether small or great, there were faults on both sides. In the first place it has always been extremely difficult for Englishmen at home to gauge correctly colonial sentiment. This arises chiefly from ignorance of colonial facts and history. It is still quite possible in these days of railways and telegraphs to show how ill-educated public and even official opinion is on affairs in our largest colonies.

(11) With regard to defence the colonists had spent a great deal proportionately to their numbers, but the mother-country was always a tower of strength. England with her command of the seas secured the safety of the maritime settlements, and made the fall of Montreal and Quebec inevitable. England's soldiers had fallen by hundreds to win an empire in the West and secure a wide field for her colonists. She might well ask some return for the blood of Marlborough's veterans. In the matter of defence the American colonies owed a very heavy debt to the mother-country. She might have recovered it and obtained more than their 'mite' of contribution from her colonies. But the difficulty lay in the method of taxation. The colonists never denied at first the sovereign rights of the British Parliament, but they

wished to control their own taxation. Many men wished to give parliamentary representation to the colonists. In moving his resolutions for conciliation with the colonies (March, 1775), Burke drew attention to the fact that 'The colonies and plantations of Great Britain, consisting of fourteen separate Governments, and containing two millions and upwards of inhabitants, have not had the liberty and privilege of electing and sending any Knights and Burgesses or others to represent them in the High Court of Parliament.'

(12) Burke also showed in comparative tables the growing value of American trade. He took the value of the export trade of England to her colonies as it stood in 1704, and again as it stood in 1772.

In the year 1704.	£
Exports to North America and the West Indies	483,265
To Africa	86,665
	569,930
In the year 1772.	
To North America and the West Indies	4,791,734
To Africa	866,398
Exports from Scotland, which in 1704 had no existence	364,000
	£6,022,132

'From five hundred and odd thousand the trade has grown to six millions. It has increased no less than twelve-fold. This is the state of the colony trade, as compared with itself at these two periods, within this century:—and this is matter for meditation. But this is not all. Examine my second account. See how the export trade to the colonies alone in 1772 stood in the other point of view, that is, as compared to the whole trade of England in 1704—

	£
The whole Export Trade of England, including that to the Colonies, in 1704.	6,509,000
Export to the Colonies alone, in 1772	6,024,000
Difference	£485,000

The trade with America alone is now within less than £500,000 of being equal to what this great commercial nation, England, carried on at the beginning of the century with the whole world[1].'

CHAPTER XIV.

The Development of Canada (1783–1809).

(1) It is more than a hundred years ago since Lord Cornwallis, a British commander from whom much was expected, surrendered to General Washington at Yorktown, and Great Britain acknowledged the independence of the thirteen United States by the Treaty of Versailles in 1783, when the boundaries of British America were reduced to their present dimensions. After this pacification one of the first difficulties on both sides was how to deal with the United Empire Loyalists. The evils of a civil and intestine war are always worse than those of an ordinary campaign. Friends, brothers and relations had taken different sides on the great question of imperial prerogative, which had been fought out so sternly and obstinately. In spite of all her faults and mistakes there were many who said of the mother-country, 'England, I love thee still.' It was the duty of the mother-country to respond. She had asked Congress to treat them leniently, and Congress sent down recommendations to the various State Governments to show

[1] Burke's Speech on Conciliation with America, 1775.

kindness and forbearance; but in the nature of things it was impossible for them to settle down comfortably in the United States. There was fortunately abundance of land elsewhere, and on the same continent, where England could find a home for them. West of the river Ottawa lay a fertile and noble country inclosed by the St. Lawrence and the Lakes. In 1784 Governor Haldimand sent surveyors to lay out in lots the country along the St. Lawrence and Bay of Quinté, and around Niagara and Amherstburg. A list of the Loyalists was made, £4,000,000 of public money voted for them, and land given on a generous scale. Field-officers were allotted 5000 acres, captains 3000, subalterns 2000, and private soldiers 200 each. Upon the occasion of a son coming of age or of a daughter marrying 200 extra were added. These were generous terms and they were gladly accepted by the refugees, who deserved every possible care and attention from the mother-country for their devotion to her cause.

(2) These men were ready to suffer anything, even death and the surrender of all their property, rather than betray England, the land of their birth and origin, and break up her magnificent empire in America. It is estimated that 20,000 went to Nova Scotia and about 10,000 to Canada. A very large number migrated to Port Razoir on the Atlantic coast of Nova Scotia; and in 1783 Governor Parr visited the town, which had surpassed even Halifax in population, and gave it the name of Shelburne, which it still bears. Many of the Loyalists also settled at the mouth of the St. John river in New Brunswick, arriving in St. John Harbour May 18th, 1783. In honour of Governor Parr they called the place Parrtown, afterwards changed to St. John. The Loyalists were slightly dissatisfied with their position in New Brunswick, as they claimed the privilege of sending a

member to the Assembly at Halifax, in Nova Scotia, but were disallowed on the grounds that the Governor could not add to the number of legislators. In order to remedy this and to obtain government for themselves, the Loyalists petitioned the Home Government for the separation of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, and easily gained their object on account of their known intelligence and loyalty. In 1784 the province of New Brunswick was separated from Nova Scotia, and in 1788 Fredericton, formerly called St. Ann's, was made the capital of the province. Since then the two provinces have remained separate.

(3) But the greatest political change was to come from the settlement of the Loyalists in Ontario or Western Canada. It must be understood that the Home Government, after the conquest of Canada, had made great efforts to pacify the French colonists, who were, generally speaking, industrious, conservative, and law-abiding men. They were regarded as likely to arrest and stay revolutionary tendencies, and to help the Home Government in their task of administration. They seemed to be the champions of Monarchical Government in America as against Republican innovations. Being for the most part Roman Catholics, they were opposed to the Protestant spirit of the New England settlers. After Wolfe's decisive victory the whole of Canada had passed under military rule. This lasted from 1760 to 1774. In 1774 the Quebec Act was passed, and according to its provisions French Law became the Law of the land. The reason for this concession was that the French population, amounting to 65,000, were many times more numerous than the English, and could therefore claim a continuance of their laws and customs, although Canada had been conquered by the English. But, in many ways, the English settlers did not like French

Law, and they were constantly petitioning the Home Government for the repeal of the Quebec Act. When the United Empire Loyalists were added to their number their requests were made with greater force and frequency. The Home Government were at a loss what to do, and determined to sift the whole matter and find out the state of Canadian society and politics by means of special committees, over which Lord Dorchester presided. One committee had to gather all the information they could about the agriculture and commerce of Canada, another investigated the subject of the Militia, another that of Education, another that of the Courts and the Administration of Justice. In fact an exhaustive enquiry into the whole state of Canadian politics was inaugurated. It was doubtless possible at this early period of the British conquest to convert Canada into a purely British colony. It was the prize of conquest, and had cost England an immense deal of blood and treasure. To blot out the French life and character was not, however, the wish or desire of British statesmen, and William Pitt the younger declared in the House of Commons, in a debate on Canada, that his object was distinctly to create two colonies separate from and jealous of each other, so as to guard against a repetition of the late unhappy rebellion which had separated the thirteen colonies from the Empire. Unconsciously, therefore, by defining the area of provincial action, William Pitt introduced into the country the germ of a future Federal Government. For the time being his motto was *Divide et impera*, and the presence of a relatively large French population was regarded as an important political factor which might tend to induce, if it could not compel, the loyalty of British colonists. The experience of the American revolt had been this, that the colonists had asserted independence as soon as the French power in Canada was broken for ever

in the continent. In Canada it might be advisable, therefore, to retain a French deterrent against revolt as long as possible. At the best this colonial policy was short-sighted and inadequate, for if colonial loyalty was to be assured simply by a series of makeshifts and equipoises, it was artificial and not worth wooing or keeping. But the idea of free colonists working harmoniously under their own executive in consonance with colonial opinion and loyal to the Crown, was abhorrent to the times. No political party could then foresee the development of colonial governments, although Burke emphatically predicted it. After his magnificent peroration on the value of '*Conciliation with America*,' in times when parliamentary eloquence and fervour had its best sway in England, only seventy-eight members were found to agree with him.

(4) The Act which divided Canada into two Provinces, the Lower and the Upper, with the boundary of the Ottawa, was called in England the Constitutional Act (1791). A census of the whole country taken about this time showed the population to be 150,000, of which 20,000 only belonged to Upper Canada. Each Province was to have a Governor of its own and a Parliament consisting of two Houses, namely an Assembly elected by the people, as now, and a Legislative Council. In Lower Canada the House of Assembly was to have fifty members and the Legislative Council fifteen; in Upper Canada the former was to have sixteen members and the latter seven. On the 17th December, 1792, the first Parliament of Lower Canada was held, and one of the first subjects which excited discussion was the language in which the business of the House should be conducted. It was finally decided that the Journals of the Proceedings should be printed in both languages, in French and English; a rule which is followed also in the Cape Colony, where members in Parliament may speak either Dutch or English.

The most important difference between the two Provinces of Upper and Lower Canada related to the question of land-tenure. The French had a peculiar system of their own which requires a few words of explanation.

(5) At first, all the land settled by the French in Canada was held by *Feudal tenure*, that is, the king always kept his right to it. Those who lived thereon had to fulfil certain duties, and if they neglected these they forfeited their lands and rights, which might be given away to others. There was little encouragement for colonists to come and settle in the country and improve it under these terms. When Cardinal Richelieu took up the subject of American colonisation he changed the law and introduced 'Seigneurial tenure,' which means that the land of Canada was divided into portions and given to seigneurs or clerics, noblemen and gentlemen, in favour with the Court. For instance, La Salle received the seignuery of Cataraqui or Frontenac, Joliette the Island of Anticosti, and the Island of Montreal was given to M. de Lauson in 1635. This island afterwards passed to the religious order of St. Sulpice in 1664. The French colonists held their land of these seigneurs, and paid them in many ways. The power of the seigneur was almost absolute, and although friendly and 'clan' relationships might spring up between landlord and tenant, the law was practically powerless to compel the seigneurs to fulfil their duties and do justice[1]. The peasantry were called *habitans*, and were in reality serfs, under the control of a strong territorial aristocracy and the power and influence of the Roman Catholic priests. The rule of the latter was generally very benevolent and beneficial, and in Longfellow's Evangeline we have a charming picture of the simple and trustful relations between priests and peasants in Acadia.

[1] See Appendix vi.

But this system of tenure was not suited to the British immigrant, whether he came from New England or Old England. He wanted absolute freehold tenure, and disliked the notion of tribute or payment in any form to a seigneur. He wished to be master of his own craft and allotment, and make his own improvements and go his own way, contributing certainly to the public revenue, in the regular way of tax-paying, but not to the private purses of a territorial aristocracy set over him, whose protection he neither asked for nor needed. Moreover, the British immigrants were generally Protestants, and they disliked holding land under Roman Catholics. It cannot be wondered, therefore, that there was an agitation for Provincial Government in Upper and Lower Canada.

(6) The Act of 1791 provided for the support of a Protestant Clergy in Upper and Lower Canada, by setting apart a large extent of wild lands for their endowment. These lands were called Clergy Reserves, and were afterwards a source of great irritation. No doubt the object of the Home Government was to protect and encourage the Protestants of Canada, who found themselves outnumbered on all sides by the French Roman Catholics. The Constitutional Act of 1791 recognised the fact that there were, practically speaking, two separate races or nations in Canada, which could not at first unite. The result of the early recognition of this cardinal fact, and all it involves, is apparent. The fusion of the two races promises, in course of time, to be fully brought about. French Canadians have long been regarded amongst the most loyal of Her Majesty's subjects. As a body of colonists, they possess a most instructive history. Their very presence is a monument of those magnificent aspirations of the French nation to found a Transatlantic Empire, an object they

pursued, as already shown, with the most romantic and heroic ardour. According to the ideas of the Jesuits, and of Cardinal Richelieu, the Church and the colony were to advance together. Both, however, were to be subject to the higher powers at home. And the French Court was supreme in the colonies, in the first instance by the prerogative of the Crown exercised directly, and then by the specially granted privileges of the seigneurs.

(7) But when the British conquered at Quebec, it was soon discovered that feudal ideas implanted from home as a costly exogen could not flourish in North America, especially when brought into direct contact with ideas of liberty and political freedom, amongst the Protestant communities of New England and elsewhere. Feudalism disappeared, but much more slowly than we should have expected. The French Canadians have always been very conservative in their manner of life and in their habits of thought. They are, moreover, a deeply religious community. The great social upheaval, caused by the French Revolution, was scarcely felt by them in their remote valleys, and with Republican excesses they never had any sympathy at all. At the present moment there cannot, perhaps, be two sections of people more unlike than the Parisians and the French Canadians. The dissimilarity was still more marked at the beginning of this century, between a French Jacobin of the nineties and a French Canadian of the St. Lawrence Valley.

(8) The British Government in 1790 (shocked at the proceedings of revolutionary France, which seemed to have strengthened, if not imbibed, some of her doctrines of the inherent rights of man from the writings of Otis, Franklin, and Jefferson, British colonists in America) began to regard the French population of Lower Canada and New Brunswick as a conservative and stable element in the midst of confusion. The influences of the Old

World upon the New, and the New upon the Old, were of an intricate and somewhat puzzling character. As far as empire in America was originally concerned, the struggle of course lay between England and her colonies against the French. Immediately the French were conquered, the signal was given for colonial independence, and England was faced by another danger. Strangely enough, in the chaos and conflict of principles which ensued, the Government of England seemed to lean upon the French Canadians for moral, if not actual, support. For once, principles seemed to be stronger than race sympathy. But the result was good. The Canadians were treated with the utmost consideration, and they owe to England a deep debt of loyalty.

(9) From another point of view the French Canadians are interesting to us. They have proved that men of French extraction can become successful colonists, a fact we are apt to forget in these days, when we see before us the ill-planned attempts of the French Government to set up a Colonial Empire in tropical and semi-tropical countries, in Madagascar, Tonquin, Algeria, Africa, and elsewhere. The ideas of Cartier, La Salle, Richelieu, Colbert, were not visionary. The valley of the St. Lawrence and the regions of the Lakes might, if destiny had so willed it, have been swarming with millions of French subjects, who would have swayed the continent from Athabasca to the Mississippi Valley. But the colonial policy of France was always secondary, and her position as a European power too exacting to allow of colonial expansion. Sea-girt England has stepped in and gathered the fruits of empire.

(10) After the political difficulties of Upper and Lower Canada were adjusted in 1791, and peaceful relations were established between French and British settlers, Canada prospered. The historian has written of this

period, 'All classes of the community were contented. The inhabitants of British origin felt they had all they could reasonably expect in a House of Assembly and a Legislative Council, while the population of French descent, in the full enjoyment of their language, their customs and their religion, lived on an easy and good-natured existence, which nothing disturbed. Meantime, the province was steadily progressing in population and wealth.' This era of tranquillity was in striking contrast to the state of Europe, where the most terrible wars were being waged, and great issues fought out by sea and land. An echo of the great strife was heard now and then in the land of lakes and forests. The colonists contributed money in Parliament to Great Britain to enable her to carry on her wars, a worthy precedent of help and assistance, which has been often repeated from that date to the recent Sûdan campaign, where loyal Canadian voyageurs went with Lord Wolseley up the Nile. Again we hear a note of sympathy with England's triumphs, and her imperial expansion, when we read in the Proceedings of the Parliament of Lower Canada (1807), that congratulations were sent to the Home Government upon the acquisition of Cape Colony and the grand vantage point of Table Bay and Simon's Town, the Gibraltar of the South Atlantic. The first English Governor of the Cape was Sir James Craig (1795), and this same officer assumed the duties of Governor General in Canada in 1807. Although not very brilliant himself, Craig was one of that race of world-wide colonial administrators, whose existence is impossible outside the British Empire, who have held wider and more important powers than Roman proconsuls, and have, generally speaking, strengthened British rule by their cautious wisdom and powers of administration. During his Governorship, a Militia Act was passed for the safety

of Canada, and the Governor himself received every assurance of loyalty from the colonists.

(11) About this time the trade of the world was to receive a great impulse from the use of steam in navigation, and Canada, the country *par excellence* of lakes and rivers, was not slow to avail herself of it. The first steamboat of which there is any record was built in 1802 by a Scotchman, named Lymington, and it was used on the Forth and Clyde canal. The second and third were launched upon the Hudson River by Fulton in 1805 and 1809. The following is the account given at the time:—'The steamboat Accommodation has arrived with ten passengers. She is incessantly crowded with visitors. This steamboat receives her impulse from an open-spoked perpendicular wheel on each side, without any circular band or rim; to the end of each double spoke is fixed a square board which enters the water, and by the rotatory motion of the wheels acts like a paddle. No wind or tide can stop her.'

(12) It is clear that when once steamboat communication was opened up on the great lakes it would lead to wonderful results. It would bring these vast prairies and rivers nearer to Montreal and Quebec and display a new world to the colonists. For some time past exploration and discovery had been going on in the North-West. The example of Champlain (1615–35) was not forgotten by the French trappers and colonists. He had led the way to Lake St. Louis, Nipissing, Huron and Ontario, as has already been pointed out. In 1680 Louis Hennepin had travelled to the furthest sources of the St. Lawrence, and in 1742–3 the Verendryes had pushed exploration to the Rockies.

But the greatest explorer of the North-West was a Scotchman of the name of Alexander Mackenzie, who was born in the Highlands of Scotland and came as a fur-trader to

Canada in the service of the North-West Company. 'He was of an inquisitive mind and enterprising spirit, was possessed of a strong constitution and great powers of endurance, and, moreover, had the ambition to cross through the continent by some new way, hitherto unexplored by the white man. His first years were spent in the Lake Superior region, or in regions further to the east: and here he soon rose to the position of leader among the bold spirits of adventure. The wild life he led during these years was more congenial to him than would have been the charms of society in the crowded city. Frequently in the wilds of the West men are met whose chief happiness it is to struggle with the difficulties of travel and to overcome them. To this class belonged Mackenzie. What the trials of such a life are, he himself tells us. "I had to encounter perils by land and perils by water, to watch the savage who was our guide, or to guard against those of his tribe who might meditate our destruction. I had also the passions and fears of others to control and subdue. To-day I had to assuage the rising discontents, and on the morrow to cheer the fainting spirits of the people who accompanied me. The toil of our navigators was incessant, and oftentimes extreme: in our progress over land we had no protection from the severity of the elements, and possessed no accommodations or conveniences but such as could be contained in the burden on our shoulders, which aggravated the toils of our march and added to the wearisomeness of the way"[1].'

(13) Mackenzie's voyage and journey was a most adventurous one. He plunged into the terrible regions of the North towards the Polar basin, hundreds of miles away from his base at Fort Chippewyan, itself a fur-traders' post, where summer rushes through the skies swiftly and is succeeded by an eight months' night of winter.

[1] See Bryce's Manitoba: its Growth and Present Position. 1882.

He left the Fort on June 3, 1789, in a canoe made of birch-bark. The Fort is situated on Lake Athabasca, whence various routes lie along the Athabasca River on the south, the Peace River on the west, and the Slave River on the north. Mackenzie followed the course of the Slave River into the Great Slave Lake, and thence he explored northwards along the river that bears his name and empties into the Polar Sea. About the end of July Mackenzie reached the Polar Sea, and returned to Fort Chippewyan by September 12. The distance traversed was more than 2000 miles. If we consider the scanty means at his disposal and the shortness of the time wherein it is possible to travel in these regions, this is one of the most remarkable voyages ever known. The whole expedition consisted altogether of four canoes.

(14) But Mackenzie was not content with this exploit. On his journey towards the Polar Sea he had experienced a difficulty in finding his whereabouts by scientific calculation. He left Canada and returned to London, determined to acquire the requisite mathematical knowledge. After gaining this, he resolved to explore the country westwards of Fort Chippewyan along the Peace River to its source in the Rockies. Thence he purposed to reach the Pacific Ocean. On the 10th of October, 1792, he again left Chippewyan, and, reaching Peace Point, was the means of adjusting a quarrel between the Crees and Beaver Indians. From this circumstance the river gained the name of Peace River. Journeying upwards he reached a place called Deer Mountain, where he wintered in readiness to start for the Pacific. 'His crew for the present voyage was chosen with care from the best materials at his disposal. They were Alexander Mackay, Joseph Landry, and Charles Ducetti, two voyageurs of the former expedition, Baptist Bisson, François Courtois, Jacques Beauchamp, and

François Beaulieu, the last-named of whom died so late as 1872, aged nearly a hundred years, probably the oldest man in the North-West at the time. Two Indians completed the party, one of whom had been so idle a lad that he bore to his dying day the unenviable name of "Cancre," the Crab.' The expedition started on June 12, 1793, and crossing the Rockies descended by a stream which flowed to the South-West. After incredible difficulties the Pacific Ocean was reached about the mouth of what is now known as Simpson's River. 'Their destination being now reached, the over-joyed travellers determined to commemorate the event, and having mixed up some vermilion in melted grease, they inscribed in large characters on the face of the rock, "Alexander Mackenzie from Canada by land, the twenty-second of July, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-three." After performing this great exploit the travellers returned over the Rocky Mountains to Fort Chippewyan, which they reached on the 24th of August.' Thus Mackenzie, the intrepid Scotchman, had the honour of reaching both the Polar Sea and Pacific Ocean by routes hitherto unknown.

(15) Before the eighteenth century had closed there were several attempts in other quarters to throw light upon the geography of North-West America. Captain Cook, who had distinguished himself at the siege of Quebec, and Captain Clarke, received instructions to explore the coasts of Behring Strait in the Resolution and Discovery, and to search for a North-West Passage from the Pacific Ocean (1776–1780). Captain Cook passed through Behring Strait and reached the ice limit in the Polar Seas. He named Icy Cape and examined the coasts as far as Cape Blanco, latitude 43° N.; in his map the New Albion of Sir Francis Drake is placed about latitude 40° N. In 1790 Captain George Vancouver was sent with the Discovery and Chatham to assail once more the

problem of the North-West Passage. His instructions were 'to ascertain whether there existed any navigable communication between the North Atlantic and North Pacific Oceans.' Europeans were quickly becoming acquainted with the character of the wonderful Pacific slope which lay between the Rockies and the sea. Sir W. Butler in his 'Wild North Land' writes thus of it: 'North of California and south of British Columbia, there lies a vast region rich in forest, prairie, snow-clad peak, alluvial meadow, hill-pastures and rolling table-land. It has all that nature can give; its peaks are as lofty as Mont Blanc; its meadows as rich as the vales of Somerset. The Spaniard knew it by repute and named it Oregon, after the river which we call the Columbia.' It had long been a mystic land, a realm of fable—a land whose 'shining mountains' were visible far out at sea, and threw, so the sailors said, a glorious lustre upon the waves from their eternal snows. In 1792 a Boston ship entered the mouth of the Oregon River, and the captain named it Columbia. In 1810 Jacob Astor, an American, planted a factory on its banks and induced some servants of the North-West Company to join him, and thus established a claim, after the war of 1812, to 'the fairest State of the American Union.'

CHAPTER XV.

The War of 1812.

(1) IT was a strange war which drove the United States into an alliance with France and the Emperor Napoleon. Freedom and liberty were assured in the New World, but they were threatened in the Old; and Europe was being deluged with blood from end to end by a conqueror whose aim was to destroy nationalities and efface constitutional rights. The successes of Bonaparte on land were commensurate with his ambition. Victory after victory crushed Austria, and the Prussians were overthrown at the battle of Jena. England alone stood in his way, and he determined to annihilate her. With this view he attacked her commerce, and by the well-known Berlin and Milan decrees closed all the continental ports against her ships. These islands were declared in a state of blockade, and the seizure was authorised of all vessels bound from British harbours. England retaliated by her Orders in Council, which declared all the ports of France and her allies from which the British flag was excluded, in a state of blockade, and 'that all trade in articles the produce and manufacture of the said countries or colonies should be deemed unlawful, and all such articles declared good prize.' On both sides it was war to the knife, and for Great Britain a most terrible struggle for very national existence. Should she be cast down from her sovereignty of the seas, the prospect was indeed dark for the rest of prostrate Europe. She alone stood between the conqueror and his insatiable lust of conquest.

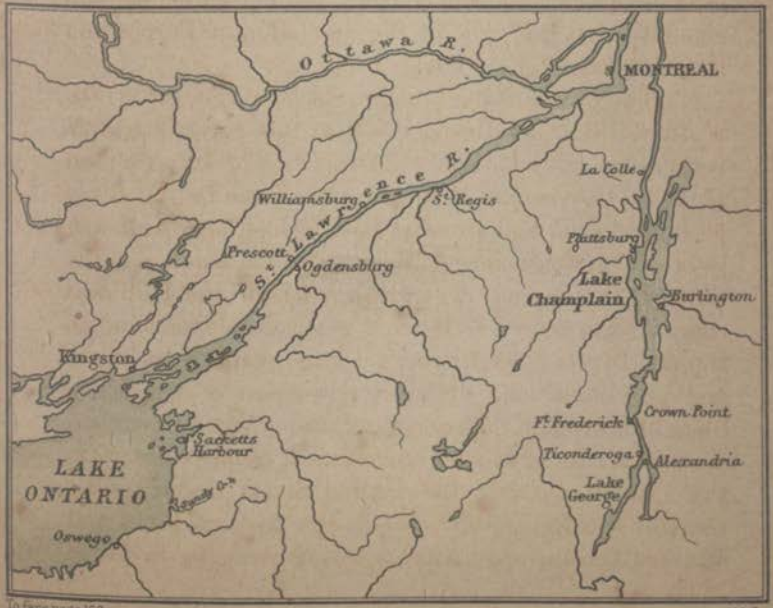
(2) Naturally, this commercial war pressed heavily upon neutrals, and especially upon the Americans, who, in the turmoil of Europe, had gradually obtained a large amount of the carrying trade of the world. The English also claimed the right of searching for British deserters in American ships, which increased the existing irritation. It must likewise be recollected that the War of Independence had left behind it a large heritage of hatred and prejudice, which had not yet had time to exhaust itself. Washington and his friends, when their great work was effected, strove to repress the anti-British feeling which pervaded the democracy, and by so doing incurred at first a good deal of obloquy. Not even the excesses of the French jacobins and revolutionists could at first impair the sympathy between the two countries. Protests were certainly heard here and there, and certain delegates from the county of New York protested at Albany against the war, saying that it was repugnant for a free people to ally themselves with the Emperor Napoleon, 'every action of whose life demonstrated a thirst for universal empire and the extinction of human freedom.' But the war was a popular one, and the conquest of Canada appeared a simple matter.

(3) At this time the population of Upper Canada was less than 80,000, and that of Lower Canada 220,000; that of the United States was about 8,000,000. The frontier between the two countries was about 1000 miles long, and practically undefended. The regular troops in both provinces of Canada amounted to barely 4000 men. The United States had the advantage of attacking where they pleased, with an unlimited supply of troops and provisions behind them. It was expected also that the Canadian people themselves would welcome 'Brother Jonathan,' and consent to form other provinces of the Republic. But the attachment of the Canadians to

constitutional monarchy was strong, and their sympathy with the States very small. They rallied in both provinces boldly and loyally round England. The United Empire Loyalists, and emigrants from New England and New York, were amongst the staunchest militiamen who rolled back the tide of invasion. The north-west Indians, also, who cordially disliked the Americans, or, as they termed them, 'Long-knives,' gave most important aid to Canada at the beginning of the campaign. In Lower Canada the feeling of the French colonists was strong to fight against England's enemies. Since 1774 they had learned to trust to England's promises; and since the Quebec Act of 1791 they had experienced the sweets of political liberty, which they were loth to surrender. As for their sympathising with the murderous campaigns of Napoleon and a rampant Imperialism, it was not to be thought of. The political and conservative feelings of the French Canadian had become hardened and crystallised at the sight of the desolation of Europe and the destruction of old land-marks.

(4) The United States Congress declared war on the 18th of June, 1812, and during this year three great attempts were made upon Canada. On the 12th of July General Hull, the Governor of Michigan, crossed the Detroit River with 2500 men, and attacked Fort Malden near Amherstburg, which was garrisoned by 300 British regulars under Colonel St. George. The attempt failed, and Hull was compelled to retreat to Detroit, where he surrendered to General Brock. The British got large quantities of stores and provisions, and obtained possession of the whole State of Michigan. This success strengthened the allegiance of the Indians, who proved most useful allies. On the 13th of October the United States troops, under General van Rensselaer, crossed the Niagara River and attacked Queenston. After a severe struggle, in which

WAR OF 1812 – THE NIAGARA FRONTIER.



WAR OF 1812 – LAKE CHAMPLAIN.

Oxford University Press.

two gallant officers, General Brock and Colonel Macdonell, were killed, the United States troops were driven back, and 950 compelled to surrender. An attempt also to invade Canada by way of Lake Champlain, conducted by General Dearborn in October, failed, and the British claimed a victory at Lacolle River. The Americans kept up the contest during the winter, and threatened the Canadian frontier with three armies, one on the west under General Harrison, one along the Niagara River under General Dearborn, and a third near Lower Canada commanded by General Hampton. The war was waged with great determination on both sides, winter and summer. Canada is a country which, in the depths of winter, allows of transport by means of sleighs and snow-shoes across its frozen surface. We hear of a march overland of the 104th British regiment from New Brunswick to the scene of operations in the winter; also of a sudden attack upon Ogdensburg by a force marching across the ice on the St. Lawrence. England had her hands full, and could give little assistance. Sir James Yeo, a naval officer, arrived with reinforcements, but they only consisted of 450 seamen and a few officers who were sent out for the purpose of manning the British vessels on the Lakes. The position which they were sent to guard, viz. the peninsula between Lakes Erie and Ontario, was most valuable from a strategic point of view.

(5) One of the most important incidents of the war was the night attack of the British commander, General Vincent, upon the Americans. After the capture of Toronto and Fort George, he had been compelled to retreat before a superior force of nearly 4000 Americans. The latter, confiding in their numbers and prestige, guarded their camp carelessly, a fact which did not escape the notice of Colonel Harvey, a vigilant officer who had been sent out by General Vincent for the purpose of

reconnoitring. A night surprise was planned and carried out on the 5th of June, 1813, at a place called Stony Creek. The troops at General Vincent's disposal consisted of the 49th Regiment and a part of the 8th, mustering altogether only 704 men. The enemy were taken completely by surprise, and though some of them stood their ground and fought bravely, large numbers ran away. Harvey captured four cannon and 120 prisoners, including both the American generals, Winder and Chandler. When day broke the fugitives returned to their camp, destroyed their stores, and retreated hastily to the mouth of Forty-mile Creek.

(6) During this year (1813) a celebrated duel between an American and British man-of-war took place, a combat which has become a household tale. Captain Broke, of the British frigate Shannon, brought up before Boston harbour, where the Chesapeake was lying, and challenged her commander, Captain Lawrence, to meet him in the open sea; and it is thus described: 'The two ships were followed from the harbour by a fleet of sailing-boats filled with the citizens of Boston eager to see the battle, and take part in the expected triumph. As the Chesapeake drew near there was great excitement among Broke's men. "Don't cheer," said Broke, "but go quietly to your quarters." In fifteen minutes after the first shot was fired the Chesapeake was in the hands of the British: on her masts floated the British flag above the stars and stripes; seventy of her men lay dead, and her captain was dying of a mortal wound. "Don't give up the ship," were the words addressed to his men by this brave officer as he fell. On Sunday, June 6, the Shannon with her prize sailed into Halifax Harbour[1]. Captain Lawrence was buried in Halifax with military honours. Broke, who was severely wounded in the engagement, was rewarded by his Sovereign with the title of baronet.'

[1] See Appendix vii.

(7) The great Indian ally of the British was the Shawnee war-chief Tecumseh, who fell fighting for them against the Americans, in the campaign on Lake Erie. In September, 1813, the British arms had suffered a severe defeat on the Lake, when Commodore Perry with nine American vessels captured six vessels under Captain Barclay. The British commander, General Proctor, with whom Tecumseh was co-operating, was compelled to retreat into Canada before an American force under General Harrison outnumbering them by four to one. They were hotly pursued, and compelled to make a stand at Moravianstad, on the river Thames east of Lake St. Clair, and in the conflict which ensued the British were defeated, and Tecumseh their faithful ally killed.

(8) In Nova Scotia, and along the maritime provinces, much privateering was done, and damage inflicted upon the ships engaged in fishing. Chester was attacked several times, and Hall's Harbour, on the coast of the Bay of Fundy, was the headquarters of a band of pirates who made raids upon the Cornwallis Valley. An exciting scene was witnessed in Mahone Bay. A privateer, named the Young Teazer, ran up the bay, closely pursued by two British war-vessels. When its capture was imminent, the privateer suddenly blew up, and out of thirty-six men on board only eight remained alive. From these it was learned that the destruction of the vessel was caused by a British deserter who, to save himself from being captured, threw fire into a powder magazine. The British were able also to carry the war into the enemy's country. Sir James Yeo and General Drummond captured the fort of Oswego in the State of New York. Sir John Sherbrooke, the Governor of Nova Scotia, sailing from Halifax, took possession of a district on the coast of Maine between the Penobscot and the St. Croix, which was held by the British till the end of the war. A British force under

Admiral Cochrane and General Ross captured Washington and burned the Capitol.

(9) Meanwhile Napoleon had been defeated in Europe, and greater attention was given to American affairs. Sixteen thousand veteran troops were sent to Canada and placed under the command of Sir George Prevost; but unfortunately this splendid force was miserably mismanaged at Plattsburg on Lake Champlain, and a reverse inflicted on the British arms. The last scene of the war was enacted at New Orleans, where, towards the end of the year, the army and fleet which had taken Washington arrived at the mouth of the Mississippi and attacked the city, which was strongly fortified by breast-works of sand-bags and cotton-bales. The British were unsuccessful here also, and retired after a loss of 2000 men, the Americans, it is said, only losing eight men. Although towards its end the British troops suffered these sudden and unexpected reverses, the war, generally speaking, had been long, cruel, and desultory. In fighting the Canadians, the Americans always had the advantage of numbers, and were able to replenish their supplies of cannon, arms, ammunition and clothing from a convenient basis. The Canadian militia were comparatively raw and undisciplined, especially at first, and were scarcely ever fully armed.

(10) The most important and sanguinary battle of the whole campaign was fought in July, 1814, at a place called Lundy's Lane, where Generals Drummond and Riall, at the head of an inferior force, met the Americans under Generals Ripley and Scott. The battle, which was fought out within sound of the falls of Niagara, commenced at five o'clock in the afternoon, and lasted till midnight, when the Americans withdrew with a loss of 1200 men. The British lost 900, and General Riall was taken prisoner. During the conflict many acts of individual

daring and many deeds of heroism were performed, not only in the ranks, but by individuals. The women, we are told, were not a whit less brave than the men. A lady of the name of Mrs. Secord, whose husband had been wounded at the battle of Queenston, and her house plundered and destroyed by the Americans, was the means of warning a British outpost at a place called Beaver-dams, by undertaking alone through the forest a journey of twenty miles. The Americans often carried on the war with great cruelty; and on the 10th of December, 1813, one of the very coldest nights of the Canadian winter, the village of Niagara was burned, the wretched inhabitants only receiving half an hour's notice to quit their homes. The British retaliated by burning a village called Lewiston, on the American side. It was time, however, that this wretched war ended. The United States had gained no glory or fame by it, and had learnt that the Canadians were brave antagonists, willing to sacrifice everything in the extremities of war for their country and their cause.

(11) Peace was restored by the Treaty of Ghent (1814); and the Americans, who had lost forts and territory during the war, received them back again. This is the brief and pregnant verdict of the Canadian historian Macmullen: 'From first to last the course pursued by the United States presents few grounds for justification. They had commenced an unrighteous war, by the invasion of an unoffending and harmless people. When they found they could not seduce them from allegiance to their Sovereign, their generals burned their villages and farm-houses, and plundered them of their property. But, by a righteous dispensation of Providence, they were most deservedly punished. Nothing had been gained by all the lavish expenditure of American blood and treasure. Not one solitary dollar had been added to the

wealth of the people of the United States, nor one inch to their territory. On the other hand, their export trade had dwindled down in 1814, from twenty-two millions sterling, to less than one and a-half millions; and their imports, from twenty-eight million pounds sterling, had been reduced to three. Nearly three thousand of their merchant-ships had been captured, their entire sea-board insulted; two-thirds of the mercantile and trading classes of the whole nation had become insolvent, and the Union itself was threatened with dissolution, by the secession of the New England States. Then, if Canada suffered much misery—if many of her gallant sons were laid low—the war was a real benefit to her. The lavish expenditure of money enriched, more or less, all classes of her small population, and thus gave a vast impulse to the general prosperity of the country. Nor did this expenditure add much to the burdens of the people, being chiefly borne by the mother-country, while the inhabitants of the United States were grievously oppressed by taxation, and thus directly punished for their eagerness to engage in war, and coveting their neighbours' lands, whilst millions of acres of their own territory lay waste.'

CHAPTER XVI.

Events from 1814 *to* 1837. *The Papineau Rebellion.*

(1) It was not easy for those passions to subside which had been aroused during the late war. For three years the colonists had been in a state of fever and unrest. The enemy might be expected at any moment to swoop down upon their farms and homesteads, whether along the lakes of the interior or the sea-coast of Nova Scotia, and along the Bay of Fundy. Throughout the country a warlike and turbulent feeling had prevailed, which had naturally checked peaceful expansion. The mother-country showed her care for her loyal colonial children, by granting small pensions to those who had been disabled by the war, and giving gratuities to the widows and orphans of those who had been killed. The paper money was redeemed at its full value without delay. The population increased rapidly by immigration from Europe, and settlers were encouraged to take up their abode in the country by offers of free passage, grants of land, and provisions for a year. This at a time when England, wearied and exhausted with her tremendous struggle in Europe, was bleeding, as it were, at every pore.

(2) For some time after the war, settlers from the United States were regarded with suspicion, and were allowed to remain only as aliens, liable to be expelled at any time. But these regulations against them were gradually allowed to fall into disuse, and many Americans came across the border and settled in Canada. The era into which the country had now entered was a peaceful

one. In 1817 the first banking institutions were established in Canada—the Banks of Montreal and Quebec. In 1821 the Lachine canal, for overcoming the rapids of the St. Lawrence, was commenced, and this work gave a great deal of employment to the colonists and the immigrants. Previously to the opening of this canal produce was brought down the St. Lawrence in flat-boats or Durham batteaux, which could not be taken back against the rapids, but were sold at the ports. Three years later the Welland canal, for connecting Lakes Erie and Ontario, was commenced. In Halifax a Provincial Agricultural Society, with the Earl of Dalhousie at its head, and a clever Scotchman, John Young by name, as secretary, was formed, and an impetus given to scientific farming. In the province of Nova Scotia able men were arising, who by their talents and energy helped forward the prosperity of the country. Amongst these must be mentioned Samuel Archibald, a lawyer of great talents and distinction, and Thomas Chandler Haliburton (Sam Slick), known as an author and a judge. For many years he represented the county of Annapolis, and, removing afterwards to England, held a seat in the House of Commons.

(3) Education was rapidly being pushed forward in all parts of the Colonies. In 1825, McGill College was made a University; and in Nova Scotia the corner-stone of Dalhousie College was laid by the Earl of Dalhousie in 1821, the funds employed in the erection of the building being derived from duties collected on the coast of Maine, seized during the recent war by Sir John Sherbrooke. In 1826 the village of Bytown, now Ottawa, the capital of the Dominion of Canada, was founded. The origin of this beautiful city was this: Colonel By, an officer of the Royal Engineers, came to survey the country with a view of making a canal to connect the

tidal waters of the St. Lawrence with the great lakes of Canada. After various explorations, an inland route up the Ottawa to the Rideau affluent, and thence by a ship canal to Kingston on Lake Ontario, was chosen. Colonel By made his headquarters where the proposed canal was to descend by eight locks, a steep declivity of ninety feet to the Ottawa River. 'The spot itself was wonderfully beautiful. Less than a mile above, the noble Ottawa narrows into picturesque rapids, and then plunges down the Falls of the Chaudière in a cloud of mist and spray. Grassy dells where the parasitical wild vine clung to the forest tree, and hills covered with the stately and solemn white-pine, under which the wild deer bounded, and where the notes of the whip-poor-will re-echoed plaintively through the solitude,' were the site of the future capital of the Dominion. It was the centre of a vast lumber-trade, and had expanded by 1858 to a large town.

(4) Amongst the chief calamities which overtook the Canadians in this period (1814–1837) was a destructive fire, called the Miramichi Fire, which swept over the eastern portion of New Brunswick in 1825. The season had been remarkable for heat and drought, which continued till late in the autumn. On the night of October 7 the fire, which had been raging in the neighbouring forests, burst upon Newcastle and other flourishing settlements on the Miramichi river with such suddenness and power as to sweep everything before it. Many persons were burned to death, and a still larger number were left homeless and destitute at the approach of winter. Aid was sent to the sufferers from the other Provinces, the United States, and Great Britain. In 1832 the Asiatic cholera passed through all the large towns and villages. It was brought over to America by the passengers of the crowded and ill-ventilated emigrant ships. With the first days of spring it established

itself in Quebec and Montreal, and thence passed up the St. Lawrence and round the shores of Ontario and Erie, carrying death and dismay everywhere.

(5) In 1837 a severe commercial crisis passed over the United States. A seeming prosperity suddenly collapsed, merchants became insolvent, and banks refused to pay coin and cash their own notes. The two Provinces of Canada were affected by this crisis, and in Lower Canada the banks followed the example of repudiation set by the United States. But in Upper Canada bankers adopted a different course, redeemed their own notes, contracted their business and boldly met the hard times. Sir Francis Head was Governor of Canada at this time, and helped greatly to guide the country through this dangerous period. But these calamities interfered very little with the real progress of the country, and were as nothing compared with the great national confusion which ensued upon what was known as the Papineau Rebellion.

(6) When Queen Victoria ascended the throne in 1837 joyful Te Deums were sung in the churches of Canada; but along the valley of the St. Lawrence the congregations, which were composed principally, if not entirely, of French Canadians, walked out of church. What were the causes which led to this separatist movement amongst these people and caused them to show their hostility to England in such a marked way? Up to the time of Papineau's leadership there had been no systematic attempt to arouse the French against the British. After the conquest of Canada the people had been treated with exceptional leniency. They had been allowed to retain their own laws and religion and feudal customs, and were admitted, as far as the ideas of the times would admit, into the partnership of government. It was impossible to give the 'habitans' self-government for a long time after their absorption into the British Empire. They

were certainly unfitted for it by their previous French training. It was enough for them to live quietly under the broad flag of England in their secluded valleys and bays without courting the risks and responsibilities of empire. Their defence, a very important matter, was undertaken for them by the British Government, and they were consequently relieved of naval and military expenses. Or was it a sympathy with the Republic of the United States urging them to rebel? Were the principles of Republicanism finding their way across the border and leavening the mass of Canadian Frenchmen? This does not appear to have been the case. The invasions of Canadian territory by the Republicans in the war of 1812–14 were still remembered, and the numerous acts of cruelty and molestation recorded as a legacy of dislike. They hated the Republicans more than they did the British, and the clergy, the strongest influence in the land, were bitterly opposed to Republicanism and its principles. They carried their opinions as teachers and instructors to every river-village and Acadian hamlet. Whatever the Rebellion might have meant to the peasantry, it seems to have implied with the leaders ideas of nationality. Such at least was the impression of Lord Gosford, Governor of Quebec in 1837, who was of a conciliatory nature himself and bore to Canada a conciliatory message. Writing to Lord Glenelg, on the occasion of his request to be recalled from a difficult and thankless post, he observed: 'It is evident that the Papineau faction are not to be satisfied with any concession that does not place them in a more favourable position to carry into effect their ulterior objects, namely, the separation of this country from England and the establishment of a Republican form of government.'

(7) It is necessary, however, to discover and point out some real grievances which might have prompted a

dissatisfied spirit amongst the French Canadians, apart from those which might have been inherited from their history and traditions. First of all there was the chronic grievance of the Clergy Reserves common both to British and French, to Upper and to Lower Canada. In Upper Canada these reserves amounted to 2,500,000 acres, being one-seventh of the lands in the Province. Three objections were made against continuing these Reserves for the purpose for which they had been set apart. The *first* objection arose from the way in which the Executive Council wished to apply the revenues accruing from these lands. According to the Act they were to be applied for 'maintaining the Protestant religion in Canada;' and the Executive Council interpreted this as meaning too exclusively the Church of England which was established by law in the mother-country. But the objectors claimed a right for all Protestant denominations to share in the Reserves. The *second* objection was that the amount of these lands was too large for the purpose in view: and the *third* referred to the way in which the Reserves were selected. These 2,500,000 acres did not lie in a block, but, when the early surveys were made, every seventh lot was reserved; and as these lots were not cleared for years the people complained that they were not utilised, and so became inconvenient barriers to uniform cultivation.

(8) With the Roman Catholics, both priests and peasantry, the Clergy Reserves were naturally unpopular. They might not unreasonably complain that the act of reservation was a special act, and directed against themselves and their religion. Any act that seemed to affect their Church would be resented by the pious peasantry who, by character and tradition, were very deeply attached to it. The missionary zeal and fervour of the seventeenth century, which founded churches, schools and seminaries,

had lasted well into these days, and Church life in Lower Canada was a living and moving influence. With the constantly increasing immigrant population, whether they were Roman Catholics from Ireland or Presbyterians from Scotland, the general and particular application of the profits of the Reserves would be distasteful. To the Scotch population that well-known act of Sir Francis Head in setting aside thirty-seven Rectories for the Church of England was an irritating procedure, and savoured of the old spirit of Prelacy in a new country. Thus from different motives and in different ways the French 'habitans,' the Scotch Presbyterians, and the Irish immigrants would join hands over a common grievance.

(9) But the Constitutional difficulty was, after all, the great one, and it lay at the bottom of the whole dispute. Both French and British were living in the days of half-enfranchisement and in the atmosphere of political unrest. The Canada Act of 1791 was only the first instalment of civic rights. So far as it went it was a gracious concession to local feelings and prejudices, and gave the two Provinces an opportunity through their electorate of airing and discussing their grievances; but it was partial and illogical. It might suit the times, but it was a mere shadow of freedom after all; and the more restless spirits of Upper Canada, especially the immigrants who had passed through the Constitutional struggle in England and had been enfranchised by the great Reform Act of 1832, felt and knew this. It was the Crown nominee system struggling against the elective system, and matters had come to an absolute dead-lock in the administration of Government.

(10) To understand this better, it is necessary to give an outline of the features of the Canadian Constitution, as left by the Canada Act of 1791. Generally speaking, the model of the British Constitution was closely adhered to, and

there were two Houses, the Legislative Assembly, resembling the House of Commons, and the Legislative Council, resembling the House of Lords. The Assembly was chosen by the people; but as there were no hereditary Peers in Canada, the Council was appointed by the Crown. The Executive Council stood in the place of the Privy Council which advises the monarch in England. But there was this difference:—the Cabinet in England was generally chosen from the House of Commons, and could be changed if their policy failed, while the Executive Council in Canada was more independent, and could act without any reference to the House of Assembly. There was no way at first in the colonies by which the will of the people could be felt, in the last resort, by the Executive. This was really the cause of contention between the Home and Imperial Governments, and this particular epoch of colonial history in Canada is very interesting to us, because from it we can mark the date of full civic enfranchisement and responsible government in the British colonies. What was done now in Canada was done also in the numerous Australian colonies, and afterwards in the Cape colony. The principles of colonial self-government were established in our Colonial Empire from 1840–1.

(11) Further, the Canadian people complained that the British Government levied the duties on imports into Canada, and took away from the colonists the control of their fiscal policy. The Governor and his Council held the revenue at the ports, and so possessed a power which made them independent of the Assembly, as long as the expenses of government did not exceed these revenues. They also held the control of another large and growing source of revenue, namely, that arising from the sale of timber—which was a most important industry in Canada—on the Crown lands. The jurisdic-

tion of the colonists did not extend beyond the sphere of their immediate occupation and the settled country. The control thus reserved by the Crown over the vast and unexplored regions of the north-west was final and absolute. Later on this policy was completely reversed. The Crown lands were handed over with a perhaps too prodigal generosity to the colonists, and huge spaces, adapted in the future for purposes of imperial immigration and colonisation, given to a comparatively few colonists in North America, South Africa, and Australia.

(12) An additional source of complaint was found in the fact that the government of Upper and Lower Canada had found its way into the hands of a few powerful families banded together by a Family Compact. In Upper Canada the colonial oligarchy had some reason for its existence. As has already been pointed out, it had its origin in the patriotic exodus of Americans from the south, and in the gradual immigration of well-to-do settlers and able men from the mother-country. In Lower Canada the governing clique, or oligarchy, was not indigenous to the Province to the same extent. 'The sunny France of their fathers was still the cherished country of the Canadians' memory. Thither their young men who sought distinction made summer pilgrimages, and there they drew inspiration or instruction from the pages of its literature. The men of the "habitans" took their mental impress from their priests or their leaders; but all the intellect of Lower Canada was French exclusively[1].' Naturally, therefore, the French aristocracy of Lower Canada could not, under the circumstances, lend themselves as parties to the British governing clique. Such a course would seem to obliterate too quickly their nationality, and reduce them to a dead level of political existence, to which the glowing

[1] See Macmullen's History of Canada.

memories of Old France and the colonial life of New France had not accustomed them.

(13) Another consideration is, how far the feelings, passions and ideas of France influenced at this time the valleys of the St. Lawrence. The doctrines of liberty, equality and fraternity had not found any great response in Quebec in 1810. But did the country *now* abound with colonists from Old France, eager and willing to carry far afield with them, as propagandists, the doctrine of the 'Rights of Man'? The French Revolution does not appear to have strengthened at any time, directly or indirectly, the colonial enterprises of the nation. In England, Oliver Cromwell took up a strong colonial policy as part of the people's heritage —not so with the French Jacobin leaders and Revolutionists. They, least of all men, desired to found colonial empires, or to exchange France for Canada, or any other region of the world. And Canada, least of all countries, was likely to become the 'Alsatia' of desperate and revolutionary spirits. The pious Roman Catholics and the simple and obedient peasantry heard with horror of the massacres in France, and shuddered at the fanatical excesses of the time. Religion was everything to them; it was nothing to the makers of the Revolution. If legitimacy could have a home anywhere, it was here in these transatlantic colonies. So the breaking of the tie of sentiment and patriotism was made easy in Lower Canada by the state of politics in France. For French colonists, and especially the seigneurs, the political idea was France of the old *régime*, not France of the new.

(14) It was probably with very mixed feelings that a French representative of the old seigneurs approached the question of Canadian Reform. In the first place he could not place himself in the position of the British immigrant, who had learned his lesson in Con-

stitutional History during the stirring times of the 1832 Reform Bill. Possibly the phrase conveyed to his mind blurred images of riot, ruin and revolution, the contemplation of which would horrify his mind so long accustomed to privilege and power in the quiet valleys of Acadia. Then, supposing that success had crowned rebellion against British rule, what would follow then? A new French nationality in Canada. But in what position would a privileged seigneur find himself in such a Commonwealth? Just that of an ordinary citizen, nothing more, with a compulsion to enter the arena of public life shorn of hereditary titles and all he had been accustomed to value most. For a successful Papineau Rebellion could never have meant the rule of an oligarchy at Quebec. The teaching of the United States and the South would always have provided an example against the government of the few, and, closer still, in Ontario the rough frankness of the British immigrants, in love with freedom, freeholds, and the franchise, would have constituted a menace to Family Compacts and governing cliques just outside their own boundaries. No, the seigneur was completely lost under British rule, and presently doomed to die a slow and perhaps a stately and decorous death. In reality he was an anachronism, and an anachronism of little use against the new commercial vigour of the British. He might have been jealous of the signs of British rule and felt all the pangs of wounded pride, for who could forget the glorious days of French colonisation and French vice-royalties? Still he felt nearer to the British official, whether civil or military, than to his own fellow colonists who might be supposed to be clamouring for a share in the government and a place in a reformed Constitution. There was little or no opportunity for the seigneurs in this rebellion, and the leadership lapsing from them

fell into doubtful and intriguing hands. To give it real force and life one strong simple cry should have come from the hearts of the people, and this cry was wanting. Altogether the issues were very complicated in the St. Lawrence Valley Provinces and the Maritime Provinces. One influence was constantly found to counteract another in some unexpected way, and so it is not to be wondered at that some should interpret the rebellion as a class, and perhaps semi-religious, contest rather than a race-conflict. The constitutional dead-lock, however, was tolerably clear to those who looked beneath the surface. All colonists, whether in the two Canadas, and especially in Upper Canada, or Nova Scotia, or New Brunswick, were fighting out a constitutional question, side by side. Other influences of course were at work, but the main desire of all was to be freed of the burden of Executive Councils, nominated at home and kept in office with or without the wish of the people. In Upper Canada, William Lyon Mackenzie, and in Lower Canada, Louis Papineau and Dr. Wolfred Nelson, agitated for independence.

(15) The first disturbance occurred in the streets of Montreal on November 6th, 1837. Warrants were issued for the arrest of the leaders, but they escaped, and Papineau fled to the United States. In December about 400 rebels gathered near Toronto, and endeavoured to gain possession by night of the arms which were stored in the City Hall ; but the alarm bells were rung, and their attempts were frustrated. As the rising spread, Sir Allan M'Nab hastened to Toronto, and at the head of the loyal militia defeated the rebels in a pitched battle with heavy loss. Mackenzie was outlawed, and $1000 offered for his head. This leader of the insurrection had taken possession of Navy Island in the Niagara River, and held it with a force of 1000 men, who termed themselves the Patriot Army and boasted of a flag with two

stars, one for each of the Canadas. Mackenzie issued a Proclamation declaring Canada a Republic. In Lower Canada the rebels, with the aid of adventurers from the United States, boldy proclaimed their independence. The rebellion lasted through the year 1838, but it was destined to come to a speedy termination. On all sides the insurgents were crushed, jails were filled with their leaders, and 180 were sentenced to be hanged. Some of them were executed and some were banished to Van Dieman's Land, while others were pardoned on account of their youth. But there was a great revulsion of feeling in England, and, after a few years, pardons were extended to almost all. Even Papineau and Mackenzie, the leaders of the rebellion, were allowed to come back, and, strange to say, both were elected to seats in the Canadian Assembly. 'As the Canadian rebellion differed in all respects from the American war of independence, so was the impassioned, prejudiced and imprudent Louis J. Papineau the antipodes of the sober, impartial and prudent George Washington. One loved himself, the other loved his country. The Canadian advocate, whose battles had ever been of words, regardless of his countrymen, desired to raise himself to supreme power in the state: the American soldier, who had faced many a danger by flood and field, sought only the happiness of his countrymen. . . . Papineau appeared to be formed by nature for the eloquent agitator, but not for the wise and prudent legislator—to act upon the passions and prejudices of his ignorant and unreflecting countrymen, not to make them happier, wiser or better. In height he was of the middle size, with features of a Hebrew cast; whilst his large dark eyebrows shaded, in a higher arch than common, keen, lustrous eyes, quick and penetrating. Deeply read in general literature, familiar with the old Canadian lore of Hennepin, Charlevoix, and the other learned Jesuit

Fathers, who had written of La Nouvelle France in bygone days, he appealed to all the feelings and prejudices of his countrymen with irresistible effect, and carried them captive by the force of his oratorical and conversational powers.'

CHAPTER XVII.

Lord Durham's Report.

(1) ONE of the most important documents ever written on colonial affairs was the Report sent in by Lord Durham on the state of Canada in 1838. He was a distinguished Liberal statesman, and his object was to conciliate the colonists and to adopt a mild course. He held great powers from the Crown, and was invested with the double office of Governor-General and High Commissioner. This is part of his proclamation:—'People of British America, I beg you to consider me as a friend, and as an arbitrator ready at all times to listen to your wishes, complaints and grievances, and fully determined to act with the utmost impartiality. If you, on your side, will abjure all party and sectarian animosities, and unite with me in the blessed work of peace and harmony, I feel assured that I can lay the foundation of such a system of government as will protect the rights and interests of all classes, allay all dissensions, and permanently establish, under Divine Providence, the

wealth, greatness and prosperity of which such inexhaustible elements are to be found in these fertile lands.' Although Lord Durham did not remain long in the country he examined most fully into the prevalent abuses, especially those connected with the sale of Crown lands and the treatment of political prisoners. On the subject of the general political situation he was very emphatic. He wrote in his Report that 'in each and every Province the Representatives were in hostility to the policy of the Government, and the administration of public affairs was permanently in the hands of a ministry not in harmony with the popular branch of the Legislature.' Amongst other suggestions Lord Durham recommended (1) a Federal union of all the Provinces, (2) an inter-colonial Railway, and (3) an Executive Council responsible to the Assembly. The members of the 'Family Compact' of Upper Canada strongly opposed his scheme, especially that part which related to the union of the Provinces; but public opinion at home was greatly in favour of it, and, as the Family Compact prided themselves upon their loyalty, their motives for resistance were partly taken away.

(2) The British Government sent out the Hon. C. P. Thompson, Lord Sydenham, to carry the union scheme, and it came into effect on February 10th, 1841. The Bill provided for the union of the two Provinces under the name of the Province of Canada, with one Legislative Council and one Legislative Assembly. The members of the former were not to be fewer than twenty, to be appointed by the Crown for life: those of the Lower House were to be elective, forty-two being sent by each Province. The sum of £75,000 was to be granted annually for the working expenses of government, and the control of all the revenues was granted to the Assembly. The Executive Council was to be composed

of eight members who should be responsible to the Assembly. Everything, therefore, for which the Assemblies had fought during some years past was conceded, with the exception of elective Legislative Councils. This was a great advance upon the Constitutional Act of 1791. The will of the Assemblies could now be expressed fully and clearly through their officers, and legislation could be carried on in harmony with the majority. It was still felt that the Legislative Council might baulk and check legislation by throwing out measures already passed in the Lower House; but the main outworks were carried by the reformers and the chief difficulties removed.

(3) It was many years, however, before the liberties given were actually enjoyed to the full. The will of the Canadian people on local matters had sought and won expression through its proper channel; but the will of the Governor, and behind him the Legislative Council, appointed by the Governor, and the Crown of England itself, might still strongly sway Canadian politics. As a matter of fact, they did so for many years, and Lord Elgin's (1847) excuses for it were, that the long-standing quarrels between the Executive and the Assemblies, the struggle amongst the Canadians themselves on such burning questions as the abolition of Clergy Reserves, of seigneural tenures and of feudal rights and duties in the Lower Province, had rendered a too sudden withdrawal of imperial influence inadvisable, if not impossible. It is not easy in any country to alter at a blow, and by the mere passing of a Constitutional act, the position of the governing classes. In our own political history it is evident that reforms, which involve a change of political power, are very slow and gradual. So in Canada, even after responsible government was conceded, it was partially suppressed and kept under cover of the will of the Crown.

(4) The echo of the great Reform Bill of 1832 was heard in Canada, and the principles of popular representation, enunciated during the political crisis in England, found ready application across the Atlantic. British statesmen were beginning fully to recognise the claims of colonists to full civic enfranchisement. The following extract from Lord John Russell's despatch, October 14, 1839, indicates clearly the views of ministers: 'The Queen's Government have no desire to thwart the representative Assemblies of British North America in their measures of reform and improvement. They have no wish to make those Provinces the resource for patronage at home. They are earnestly intent on giving the talent and character of leading persons in the colonies, advantages similar to those which talent and character employed in the public service of the United Kingdom obtain. Her Majesty has no desire to maintain any system of policy among her North American subjects which opinion condemns.' At the same time Lord Russell counsels mutual toleration and forbearance. In the trying circumstances of the country, the only wise policy was 'a give and take' policy. As Lord Sydenham observed, 'Mutual sacrifices were undoubtedly required, mutual concessions would be demanded; but I entertain no doubt that the terms of the union' (i.e. the union of Lower and Upper Canada) 'would be fairly adjusted by the Imperial Parliament.' How different in spirit and intention this colonial policy from any which had preceded it, either in England or on the Continent! How different from the original colonial policy of France herself! When kings and cardinals dreamed of transatlantic empires, and drew their vague and shadowy boundaries on the maps before them, they never thought of a self-contained nation in political union with themselves, or a generation of colonial administrators. The

only Bureaux they knew were at the imperial head-quarters in Paris.

(5) Holland in the seventeenth century entertained similar ideas of the subserviency of a colonial life. The haughty representatives of the Dutch East India Company, ruling at the Castle in Capetown, with a hard and rigid exclusiveness, regarded immigrants, at the beginning of this century, as practically inferiors and dependants. The French Huguenots, who came there as refugees in 1687, were placed upon a lower plane of society at once, in spite of their industry, heroism and zeal for the Protestant faith. The French language was stamped out by Dutch legislation so effectually, that in less than 150 years after the first landing of the refugees not a single descendant of theirs could speak it. It is doubtful whether the Dutch colonial policy has ever undergone much change since the beginning of this century. From the Dutchmen, who had been trained in a totally different school of thought and politics from the French and Spaniards, an enlightened and tolerant colonial policy might have been expected. But the hard and stubborn men who, in the old religious wars with the Roman Catholic powers, were such sticklers for freedom of thought and political action, could not, when it came to colonial life, see the application of freedom and liberty. Colonies were to them so many commercial posts and trade centres to be managed for the sole benefit of the mother-country. Englishmen were to a great extent tainted with the same heresy for a long time, and it was not until Lord Durham's term of office that they finally abandoned it as a cardinal point in their policy.

(6) The revolt of the New England colonies should have given British statesmen a lesson in colonial constitutional history. They saw that they had made a grievous error, but still they misplaced the source of

error. The New Englanders had, as we know, been allowed to exercise at first a certain amount of local liberty. They revolted because the gift was not carried to its logical conclusion. If it had been final and complete, ending in full civic enfranchisement, with absolute control over their internal affairs, England's first colonial empire might still have been in political union with her. But British statesmen thought the evils of disaffection, rebellion and separation arose from the small local concessions already made, and, to use the words of Lord Norton, they 'impounded freedom altogether.'

This was the second and most critical period of colonial constitutional history, and it ended disastrously.

(7) The Canadian rebellion, with its manifold issues, had attracted wide and universal attention. The colonists had refused to take the surplus convict population, now drafted off into the southern seas, and in more ways than one asserted the equality of colonial life. Matters were looking serious for England. Here was the last remnant of her North American Empire honeycombed with sedition, and disloyal to the core. Emigration had become more popular than ever in England, and the 'best blood and sinew' of the mother-country was crossing the ocean in shoals. The bare mention of a cry for nationality was enough to arouse the fears of England, with the spectacle of the United States Republic before them as the living evidence of what a cry for nationality could mean. The crisis awakened the sympathy as well as the fears of some of England's best men. When Lord Durham went across the Atlantic he went as the emissary of peace and reconciliation. His report, therefore, on the state of Canadian society and politics is justly regarded as a most important document, and as constituting in itself a landmark in imperial and colonial history.

(8) Henceforth then we have to deal with a new era in Canada. When the union of the two Provinces became an accomplished fact, Kingston was selected as the seat of government. The first Parliament met on June 13th, 1841, and was opened with great ceremony. One of the most important Acts of this first session was the founding of the municipal system, by which each township, county, town, village or city manages its own local affairs, and has power to levy taxes for local improvements and local government. This Act was an additional proof in Canada that, in the domain of local and domestic policy, each part of the Canadian community was expected to carry out its duty unfettered and unhampered. It was a wise Act, as it gave, both to the British element in the Upper Province and to the French Canadians in the Lower, the opportunity of legislating in the way they thought best. Naturally there always existed and there still must exist certain local peculiarities and race distinctions; but a nation's character is illuminated rather than spoilt by these diversities. Moreover, on the ground that a municipal training is the best possible for enfranchised citizens constituting in themselves the repository of all political power, the Act was a wise one.

(9) The era of political enfranchisement became in Canada an era of territorial expansion and prosperity. That wealth which Lord Durham foretold would follow upon the settlement of political difficulties quickly came. Taking increase of population as a sign of material prosperity, we find that, during the three decades which succeed the passing of the Union Bill in 1841, the increase of Canadians was very remarkable. The following is a table of Census returns from 1806 :—

	Inhabitants.	*Increase.*
In 1806	476,000	
1825	581,920	24,000 per annum.
1831	1,069,000	
1851	2,482,000	70,000 ,,
1861	3,090,561	70,000 ,,
1871	3,833,000	
1881	4,500,000	67,000 ,,

This rapid growth is largely owing to the influx of British immigrants. Between 1850–1878, a period of 28 years, 684,542 strangers settled in Canada. Such immigration was the sign of an orderly and progressive government in the country.

(10) At the same time the country was defining its position by measures of foreign policy. In 1842, during the Governorship of Sir Richard Bagot, the famous Ashburton Treaty was made between the United States and England. This treaty removed a long standing grievance, and it concerned 12,000 square miles of territory lying between the State of Maine and New Brunswick. Lord Ashburton negotiated on the part of England, Mr. Daniel Webster on that of the United States. The treaty gave 7000 square miles to the United States and 5000 to England, and it fixed the boundary line along the forty-fifth parallel of latitude as far as the St. Lawrence, and from that point traced the dividing line up the river and through the great lakes as far as the Lake of the Woods. The tenth article of the treaty provides for the extradition of criminals, charged with the crimes of murder, assault with intent to murder, piracy, arson, robbery or forgery, upon sufficient proof of their guilt.

(11) With regard to domestic affairs, the progress of the country was marked by educational and financial reforms. In 1848 the school system of Upper Canada or the

Western Province was remodelled entirely; in 1851 the Canadian Government received the Post Office department from the British Governor, and adopted a uniform rate of postage at three-pence per half-ounce; and in the same year the Normal School and Trinity College were founded at Toronto. The Northern and Great Railways were begun at this time, and the Parliament granted aid to the building of the Grand Trunk. For Railways there was a great future in store throughout Canada. Now that we see the continent linked from end to end with a magnificent system for a distance of 3000 miles, it is almost impossible to imagine that the beginnings of it were laid only a little more than thirty years ago. In 1851 the Great Exhibition was held in London, which gave a great encouragement to Canadian products; and here, in the vision of this 'Great World's Fair,' some prophetic eyes saw the coming grandeur of England's Second Colonial Empire.

(12) Lord Elgin took a prominent part in the negotiations that led to a Reciprocity Treaty between Canada and the United States in 1854, which lasted for ten years. This treaty formed a new era in her commercial history. To the United States, Canada conceded free imports of natural products, inshore fisheries chiefly of mackerel and herring, and the opening of the St. Lawrence and its canals to their trade. At the same time they gained many counter-concessions, and in the first year the value of Canadian commerce with her neighbour rose from £1,600,000 to £4,400,000. The United States closed the treaty themselves in 1864, hoping to ruin Canada and cause her to ask for annexation; but Canada quickly rallied, and with the aid of her mercantile marine opened up for herself new markets in the West Indies, both British and Spanish, and also in Brazil. The Reciprocity Treaty itself was the first instance of a

British colony negotiating a trade treaty with a foreign power independently of the mother-country. The most important concession to the United States was that of the inshore fisheries. The mackerel, it is said, is now rarely caught on the shores of the United States, while cod, herring and other valuable fish never go south of the cold waters surrounding the coasts of the Dominion Provinces.

(13) According to the convention of 1818 the terms are briefly these: 'American fishermen have liberty to fish on certain coasts of Newfoundland, of Labrador, and some islands expressly defined; but are debarred for ever any liberty, heretofore enjoined or claimed, to take, dry or cure fish, on or within three marine miles of any of the coasts, bays, creeks or harbours of the British dominions in America not included in the specified limit.' By the terms of the Reciprocity Treaty, United States fishermen were placed on the same footing as Canadian; but when the Washington Government terminated the treaty in 1864, the Canadians fell back upon the Convention of 1818. It must be noted that in 1865 the Canadian Government, adopting a conciliatory policy towards the United States Government, allowed them temporarily the privileges of the Reciprocity Treaty just expired, upon the nominal licence fee of fifty cents per ton. This was simply a provisional arrangement, and could not be interpreted as a surrender of rights. The dispute between the Imperial Government and the United States has been at times somewhat acrimonious, as all 'Fisheries' disputes are between nations. In 1870 the disagreement was limited to a single point, viz. that of the 'Three Mile' boundary: the Canadian Government contending that the prescribed limits of three marine miles, as the line of exclusion, should be measured from headland to headland; and the United States Government con-

tending that it should be measured from the interior of the bays and the sinuosities of the coast (Marshall, Canadian Dominion, p. 213). Recently there has been an agitation in Canada for reciprocity with the United States, the wheat farmers of Manitoba and the North-West territories being desirous to form closer commercial connections with the American States bordering on Lake Michigan and elsewhere. This question has created two parties in Canada, one of them asserting that such a reciprocity would in course of time mean a peaceful absorption of Canada by the great overshadowing Republic on the south; the other denying that this would be the result, and maintaining that great benefits would accrue from the interchange of natural products between all parts of the North American continent. The whole question is a very difficult and puzzling one, and deeply interesting to all statesmen. Were reciprocity allowed between Canada and the United States, it has been advanced by some that it might be the beginning of Free Trade in the continent itself from Athabasca to the Gulf of Mexico, but protection against the rest of the world.

(14) The year 1858 was remarkable for the laying of the Atlantic submarine cable. In August of this year Ireland and Newfoundland were connected by wire, and Queen Victoria and the President of the United States exchanged messages of congratulation. This cable failed to work immediately after the first message had passed along it, but enough was done to prove the possibility of communication. In 1866 the 'Great Eastern' steamship successfully laid another cable. The story of the progress of submarine telegraphy is connected first of all with Newfoundland. The first project was to reduce the period of communication between Europe and America by two or three days, by erecting a line of telegraphy across the Island of Newfoundland, and

so connecting with Cape Breton by a short submarine cable. With this view the Newfoundland Electric Telegraph Company was, at the instance of Mr. F. N. Gisborne, its projector, established in 1852 under charter from the Newfoundland Legislature. This Company was succeeded by the New York, Newfoundland and London Telegraph Company, which took up the work and associated with it the idea of an Atlantic cable. About this time a United States naval expedition (1853) surveyed the bed of the Atlantic. Commander Berryman reported thus: 'This line of sea-sounding seems to be decisive of the question as to the practicability of a submarine telegraph between the two continents as far as the sea is concerned. From Newfoundland to Ireland (1640 miles) the bottom of the sea is a plateau which seems to have been placed there specially for the purpose of holding the wires of a submarine telegraph and keeping them out of harm's way.' Between America and Europe there are now six cables, along which the news of the world is continually being flashed. On the eastern side, the bed of the great Pacific has been surveyed with a view of connecting Canada with Australia.

(15) In the year 1860 the Prince of Wales visited Canada on behalf of Queen Victoria to take part in two great ceremonies, viz. to lay the corner-stone of the New Parliament buildings at Ottawa and to be present at the opening of the great Victoria Bridge by which the Grand Trunk Railway crosses the St. Lawrence at Montreal. On his way he called at Newfoundland. He then visited Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island and Canada. It was not the first time that a member of the English Royal Family had visited North American colonies. Prince William Henry, afterwards William IV, when in the British navy, had commanded a ship

at the Newfoundland naval quarters, and had administered justice as a Newfoundland magistrate. The Queen's father, Edward, Duke of Kent, was in the Dominion for more than five years. The Prince of Wales was well received there, and after leaving Canada visited the United States, where he was hospitably entertained.

CHAPTER XVIII.

The Constitutional Question.

(1) THE period between the Union Act of 1841 and the Confederation Act of 1867 was somewhat unsettled and turbulent in Canada. The political equilibrium between the two Canadas had not yet been satisfactorily adjusted, and time brought out growing inequalities. The population of the Upper Province increased more rapidly, by means of immigration, than the Lower, and caused the existing scheme of representation to be, both for the resident colonists and the flood of newly-arrived settlers, inadequate and unfair. It was clear that a wider confederation was destined to follow, and with it an expansion of the idea of Provincial Legislatures. The formation of two or more local governments, with some joint authority over all, seemed to be the coming political necessity for British North America. There was a natural reason for local autonomy, and an elastic system of provincial government, in regions differing, geographically and otherwise, so widely from one another, as the Maritime, River and Lake Provinces. In Upper

and Lower Canada, there was a distinct cleavage of races as wide almost as nationality and religion could make it. As we have seen, these Provinces had furnished, from the very beginning, a separate political development, and almost a separate study of history. It was impossible, however, that the streams of Canadian colonisation could flow in isolated channels: they were destined to unite and form, in 1867, one great homogeneous flood. To the mother-country politicians the field of Canadian politics was particularly perplexing. From a distance it was hard to tell what was the mere froth of popular agitation, and what the full deep wave of public opinion. The rebellion was over, and the two Provinces, which had made much of common grievances, were united and many concessions given to them: what more could they desire? Yet there were evidently some differences between the two Canadas which had a deep root in history, character and tradition. In spite of all that had been done, the French and British were obviously ill-matched yoke-fellows.

(2) In Upper Canada the reform party desired to acquire administrative influence, with a view of encouraging immigration, making local improvements, and settling townships and placing their international policy on a broad and liberal basis. The French-Canadians discouraged immigration, as it neutralised their influence, and becoming exclusive, clung with the utmost tenacity to old abuses and old prejudices. 'They disliked the American even more than the British, and courted the former merely to escape from the dominion of the latter.' It was clear, however, that the valley of the St. Lawrence could only hold one nation. But while the confusion lasted the 'signs of the times' were hard to read. Another political element was rapidly claiming close attention, and that was the immigrant population

from the British Islands into Upper Canada. It was hard to calculate the direction of their political bias when transplanted into the colonies. One thing was certain, they were effecting a quiet revolution and transferring the balance of power to Upper Canada. This is evident from three decennial returns :—

In 1841	Upper	Canada	numbered	465,000.
„	Lower	„	„	691,000.
In 1851	Upper	Canada	„	952,000.
„	Lower	„	„	890,000.
In 1861	Upper	Canada	„	1,396,000.
„	Lower	„	„	1,111,000.

For home politicians the *Family Compact* was originally a clear and definite landmark in Canadian politics in Upper Canada. It had strong features, a definite policy, a monopolist spirit, and a decided bias towards keeping the British connection absolutely unimpaired. Further back in the history of Upper Canada the *United Empire Loyalists* were a well-known band of immigrants, 10,000 in number, who during and after the revolutionary war left New England and built up Ontario, preferring the British connection and Monarchical rule, rather than the United States and Democracy. There could be no doubt about the loyalty of these voluntary exiles.

(3) The thousands of fresh immigrants introduced a new party, new ideas, and a fresh political situation. The *Family Compact* was a past landmark, and whatever influence it possessed and position it occupied, all this was more and more flooded out of sight by the rising tide of new settlers. Moreover, the influence of the neighbouring Republic of the United States insensibly affected the judgment of British settlers. They saw that the logical outcome of colonial life was an independent national existence. The theory and practice of a colonial

constitutional government had not yet been worked out. It was an entirely new conception in politics to frame a system of government which should give the utmost possible play to local feelings and prejudices, and yet keep the component parts in union with the Crown. There was no precedent in ancient or modern history for such an union and such a colonial empire. Federalism in the United States was already a familiar idea to all, but a Federal State or States under the British Crown was an untried experiment.

(4) In an indirect manner the presence of the large French-Canadian population—a Latin race by the side of a Scandinavian and Anglo-Saxon—furthered the idea of Federalism. Had the whole of the population of British North America been homogeneous in their character and unanimous in their agitation for political reform, moving forward as a solid phalanx, the idea of a separate and independent nationality, or possibly of an amalgamation with the great Republic of the south, would have gained ground and, perhaps, have been worked out. But in many ways the French Canadian element served as a drag upon the consummation of either alternative. The very fact of their dissimilarity disconcerted those political idealists who might treasure up visions of an independent North American State, north of latitude 45°, living under its own flag; and, as far as amalgamation with the Republic of the south was concerned, the very structure of society in Lower Canada, resting as it did upon French laws and customs, and moulded in all its details by the subtle influences of the Roman Catholic priests, was opposed to this idea. How could the *habitans* of the St. Lawrence valley, with their separate and distinctive traditions,—some of them feudalistic, and kept and preserved most carefully in the villages and farm-houses,—associate heartily with the Protestant and Puritan States

of the south? It was clear, therefore, that if neither amalgamation nor independence was possible or desirable, the proper *modus vivendi* under the ample folds of the British flag was to be discovered. A great deal was destined to depend upon the class of administrators who handled this great question.

(5) In the gradual evolution of the national problems of the day, the position of a Governor-General or Governor in Canada was of a highly responsible character. If the colonial office could not understand colonial questions it was imperative that their vicegerent should. He must be a man of tact, sense, knowledge and perseverance. In the good old days, any rough and ready officer might have done for the post of colonial Governor. Very often the post was a lucrative sinecure for a younger son of a good family, or for even a mere titled adventurer who desired an honourable exile for a time. The parting of Lord Bathurst to a colonial Governor was, 'Joy be with you, my good fellow, and let us hear as little of you as possible.' He was sent out with large powers, and a discretion to act pretty well as he chose. Occasionally a hint came from the colonies that the selection was not always judicious. In the annals of New South Wales it is recorded 'that the English Government spoiled an excellent seaman to make a very inefficient Governor' when they appointed Captain Bligh in 1806. At the Cape in 1821, Lord Charles Somerset was chiefly known as a sportsman and horse-racer, and a stickler for class privileges. Not untruly an old-fashioned Governor may be described as being a wayward index of home opinion of the time being, and home opinion was often crude and hasty. Now, however, a free press, telegraphs and a keener official oversight have altered the Governor's position.

(6) It was a long time before the proper type of consti-

tutional Governor could be moulded. The traditions of the old satrapic and proconsular functions were long in dying; and it was only when an occasional Governor was gifted with superior sagacity, broader humanity and a keener sense of the political movements around him, that the requisite progress towards the type was made. The difference between the old-fashioned autocrat and the present Governor has been humorously described by Sir Hercules Robinson, himself a constitutional Governor of the most approved and ordinary modern kind. 'The colonial Governor of the present day is,' he observes, 'like the little figure in a Dutch weather-glass, which only comes out under an umbrella when the barometer points to stormy.' On ordinary occasions Lord Dufferin describes him as resembling the fustian-clad man we see tending some complicated piece of machinery, going about with a little tin can having a long spout to it, and pouring in a drop here and a drop there to secure the easy working of the machinery.

(7) In an empire like that of Great Britain, including a subject population of 320 millions, there are necessarily diversities of administration, and to meet them satisfactorily, diversities of gifts in the rulers and Governors are required. Colonial training is in great measure different from the Indian and Oriental. To deal with subject and inferior races requires one kind of administration; to rule and guide British colonists, with a passion for freedom and a jealous and sensitive spirit, requires another. In the public service of this country the demand for administrative talent has occasionally been very heavy, and the same men have been entrusted with the control of Indian and colonial affairs. A generation or so ago, the blending of what should naturally have been two distinct provinces and orders of

service was more frequent than at present. Sir Bartle Frere was one of the latest examples of an Indian administrator holding a post as Governor of a colony. But in South Africa, where Sir B. Frere performed his duties, the presence of the countless native races introduced a problem, somewhat similar to those experienced in India and the East. He was compelled to adopt a two-fold character, that of High Commissioner of the Crown in extra-colonial territories, as well as that of a constitutional Governor in Capetown at the beck and call of a colonial cabinet. No European nation has ever sent out colonial Governors to administer colonial affairs according to the wish and desire of the colonists themselves. The Dutch govern Java and their Eastern possessions with tolerable success, but the problem there is comparatively easy. The style of government is of the good, old-fashioned, patriarchal and paternal description, differing *toto caelo* from such an administration as the English aim at in the self-governing colonies.

(8) The colonial Governors of England, according to the venue of their administration, are compelled to vary the method and spirit of their rule. Leaving India out of sight for a moment, it is only necessary to mention the West Indies, Natal, the Cape Colony, Australia and Canada, in order to call up a separate and distinct sphere of duties in each case. Nay more, the spheres of duties are constantly shifting and presenting new aspects. In one generation, a military Governor, pure and simple, may be required to check rebellion, as it might seem to lift its head against sovereign rule, now in the St. Lawrence valley, and now in South Africa, now in New Zealand and Jamaica; in the next, a suave, polite and ingratiating ruler, wearing the kid glove of office rather than the steel gauntlet of war, may be the right person. More than any other administrators of foreign

and colonial affairs, British Governors have been required to change their temper and vary their *rôle* of office. In the annals of British colonisation, compared with those of other nations, the wonder is not that our colonial Governors made so many errors, but that they made so few. Far from being universally despotic, instances have been known of Governors standing up as champions of constitutional privileges for the colonies, both against the Home Government and against the colonists themselves, when, at a crisis, local jealousies and passions have run high.

(9) In the Canadian Dominion the Governors, especially in 1840 and 1850, exercised a vast amount of influence, and are in themselves and in their policies an instructive study. Like the kings of Israel and Judah, some are good and some are bad. Some again are colourless, and their administration simply marks time, like that of an archon of Athens or a nominal consul of later Rome. The influence of the good administrators, men who were in sympathy with colonial feeling, and were just and fair interpreters of colonial sentiment, is very great and far-reaching. Lord Durham has won himself lasting renown in Canada. Mr. Powlett Thompson, elevated to the peerage as Baron Sydenham of Kent and Toronto, is another Governor who has left his indelible mark upon transatlantic soil. He, above all others, was fitted to stand as a mediator between conflicting parties. In the stirring times of 1839–1841, he had 'to contend alike against lingering Tory prejudice on the one hand, and extreme reform expectations on the other.' Originally a merchant and man of business, he proved himself alive to the financial difficulties of the time, and did much to remedy them. He introduced Bills for revising the customs laws, for regulating the currency, promoting education, creating an efficient board of works, and

erecting municipal corporations or district and county councils. At the same time he did much to heal party feeling, and to cause the Government of Canada to unite on all matters of common good. The functions of a colonial Governor, now that the political system of our self-governing colonies is arranged and in working order, may be simply to lubricate and supervise, as Lord Dufferin observes; but in the building and constructing of the political machinery at first, the hand and judgment of an expert were necessary.

(10) The influence of Lord Sydenham has thus been described by a Canadian historian[1]:—

'Short as his administration had been (1839–1841), his wise and vigorous policy had effected an immense improvement in the condition of these provinces. He found them suffering from recent intestine rebellion and foreign lawless aggression, their exchequer empty, their inhabitants mistrusting one another; and left them in enjoyment of peace, mutual confidence in a measure re-established, restored credit and the possession of a system of government which promised the most beneficial results; while the union with the mother-country was placed on the broad and secure basis of mutual interest and mutual affection. The name of Wolfe is a great one in Canadian annals; the memory of Sydenham, the merchant pacificator of Canada, is equally worthy of reverence and honour. His reputation was a Canadian and not an English one, and when he desired to be buried at Kingston, he felt that he was about to lay his ashes amid a people with whose history he must be ever associated.'

Lord Sydenham's popularity and sterling merits were thrown into bolder relief by the unwisdom and carelessness of some of his predecessors. Neither Sir Peregrine

[1] See Macmullen's History of Canada, p. 496.

Maitland, Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Canada (1819), and afterwards military Governor at the Cape (1844), nor Sir John Colborne (1829) were successful Canadian administrators. Their stern unbending manners were little adapted to win favour with a community verging towards democracy.

(11) Sir John Colborne, however talented and clever a manipulator of men and forces, could not gauge and command colonial sentiment. He was recalled by the Home Government, and his departure from Canada resembled a flight (1838). A plot was made to assassinate him had he travelled overland to Halifax, and he was compelled to change his route and go by New York. Sir Francis Head's own narrative condemns him as a flighty and superficial person, and unfit to hold the reins of government, when sympathy and sagacity were especially needed. His despatches to Lord Glenelg, who was then presiding at the Colonial Office, convey an impression of the author's light self-sufficiency at times of gravity and peril. 'It is out of my power,' he writes, 'to describe the joy and gladness expressed to me by all parties at the constitutional resistance I have made. But there is one question in every one's mouth, will the Lieutenant-Governor be supported by the Home Government? On your Lordship's decision rests our possession of Canada.' The facts being that although Sir Francis Head had snatched some temporary advantages from the indiscretion of his more extreme opponents, he had altogether failed to understand the general movement amongst sober and orderly citizens towards constitutional reform, and in his despatches had succeeded in baffling rather than in enlightening the Colonial Office.

CHAPTER XIX.

The Constitutional Governors of Canada.

(1) LORD SYDENHAM was succeeded by Sir Charles Bagot in 1842, Lord Metcalfe in 1843, the Earl of Cathcart in 1846, and Lord Elgin in 1847. The last-named was the most distinguished of Lord Sydenham's successors. The constitutional question continued to be the question of the hour in Canada, and on its final adjustment rested the decision of all other questions. Sir Charles Bagot's brief administration was, in Lord Grey's words, 'a much nearer approach to the establishment of a really constitutional system,' but his early death prevented him from carrying out his ideas. Lord Metcalfe was personally extremely popular with all classes of Canadians, but he used this popularity to obscure political issues and to assert his own high prerogative. On one occasion he was brought into conflict with his Council on a question relating to patronage. His ministers retired, supported by a majority of the Assembly. Ultimately he triumphed, and by means of a dissolution brought the Legislature into harmony with his views. His ideas on the functions of a colonial Governor are best expressed in his own words, that 'while he recognised the just power and privilege of the people to influence their rulers, he reserved to himself the selection of the executive.' This was giving with one hand and taking away with the other, and Lord Norton has quoted as an illustration of this theory Strafford's idea of a Parliament: 'By no means

abolish a Parliament; as a well-governed Parliament was the best instrument for managing the people.'

(2) In Lord Elgin's Governorship a constitutional crisis occurred in Nova Scotia. Sir John Harvey, upon assuming the Lieutenant-Governorship, had several vacancies in his Council to fill up. He at once deserted the existing ministry, and put himself in communication with the opposition. They advised him to dissolve the Assembly, in the hope of securing a majority. And this he did, though it is clear that, according to proper constitutional principles, nothing but imminent national danger or an adverse vote of the Assembly should turn out the ministry. According to Sir John Harvey's idea, his own *ipse dixit* was equivalent to a vote of want of confidence of the House of Assembly. These instances, as well as many others, prove the nature of the constitutional struggle then going on in Canada. There was no doubt that in course of time the constitutional procedure would be assimilated to that of England, but the progress was slow.

(3) In Lord Elgin's Governorship, the Canadian Government gained entire control over the Civil List (1847) and Post Office; and other departments, generally filled by imperial nominees, were afterwards thrown open to colonists. Lord Elgin was compelled to confront a phase of the race-question between Upper and Lower Canada. For a long time there had been a desire to indemnify those who, being drawn unwillingly into the vortex of civil war, had suffered in Lower Canada. A large party in Upper Canada denying the necessity of the indemnification and twitting the sister Province with past disloyalty were furious, and the watchword of the Conservatives as well as of the Reform party in that Province was 'No pay to rebels.' Some of them went so far as to sign an address for annexation to the United States, rather than con-

tribute to such an obnoxious subsidy. In spite of such strong gusts of popular feeling a Bill of Indemnification was passed. It was a wise and generous proceeding, and was approved of by the Queen and her ministers. The measure raised a great debate in the House of Commons, and Mr. Gladstone, condemning it, argued that it affected imperial honour, and should not have been allowed to come under colonial discussion till the Home Parliament had considered it. Lord Russell replied that the best judge of the questions to be referred home was the colonial Governor, and in this case his judgment had been good[1]. Doubtless the matter was purely a colonial one, and the right attitude of the Governor and Home Government was that of neutral spectators. Gradually the province of strictly colonial affairs and local administration was becoming more clearly defined.

(4) It was about this time that the Clergy Reserves question received its final settlement. These lands were sold, and the proceeds handed over to the municipalities for purposes of education or local improvement. This act of the colonial Legislature proved more conclusively that colonial affairs had now passed almost unreservedly into colonists' hands. If there was any question upon which the Imperial Government would have been inclined to take a very firm and strong stand it was upon this endowment question. But the theory and practice of subsidising any religious denomination in the colonies was found now to be impossible. According to some historians, the Episcopalians, especially in the days of the Family Compact and Bishop Strachan, had weakened their position by being too pronounced political partisans. The people of Upper Canada, especially at Toronto, remembered with soreness that Sir John Colborne had provided 57 rectories for the use of the

[1] Lord Norton, Col. Policy, p. 31.

Church of England, from the Clergy Reserves. This was one of the proximate causes of the rebellion; though from a constitutional point of view, he had not gone beyond the Act of 1791. What was now done by the Canadian Legislature was done elsewhere. In South Africa, where the Dutch Reformed Church and the Episcopalians were largely subsidised by the State, this support was withdrawn, and all denominations were placed upon an equality by the Act of 1875, known as 'The Voluntary Act.' All our self-governing colonies wherever situated have adopted the principle of equality, following the Canadian precedent. In Canada the endowments were dealt with in a tolerably fair manner. Those Reserves already in the possession of incumbents were to be set aside to form a small permanent endowment. The life-interests of existing incumbents were respected, and the rectories, according as they fell vacant, were to become dependent upon the voluntary system.

(5) The Seigneurial Tenure Act, passed at the close of Lord Elgin's *régime*, took away the chief grievance of Lower Canada. The rights of the seigneurs or landlords dated back to the early days of French occupation, when Richelieu formed the Company of 'One Hundred Associates.' The French Crown had been anxious to establish an aristocracy in Canada, and had granted, as we have seen, large tracts of land to younger members of ancient families, and given them many privileges which had belonged to the 'noblesse' of old France. This was importing a cumbersome piece of feudalism into a new country. The seigneurs themselves could not transfer their property without paying excessive fines as alienation, and the tenants and occupiers were vexed by numerous imposts, such as 'milling' and many other annoying taxes on farming and agricultural industries. Unlike the British colonist, they could not claim and

cultivate a 'freehold.' The French colonists, therefore, were accustomed to rely upon their seigneurs, and allowed them to take the whole management of public affairs. But this system did not work well. Farmers got no compensation for improved lands and buildings, and therefore had few motives for making the best of their farms. The only course left was for the State to buy out the seigneurs and give them an adequate sum for their vested rights and privileges. This was done, and the value of them fixed by a Commission. Part of this valuation was paid by the occupant of the land and part by Government. The Seigneurial Tenure Act was therefore a kind of Landlord's Compensation and Enfranchisement Act. Freehold tenure became the rule throughout the country.

(6) In 1854 Lord Elgin was succeeded by Sir Edmund Head, a gentleman-commoner of Oriel College, Oxford, and tutor at Merton College; he had been an assistant Poor Law Commissioner in England, when he attracted the attention of the Marquis of Lansdowne and Sir James Graham. During his Governorship the Canadian constitution was placed upon a popular and elective basis. The first question which engaged his attention was one which followed directly from political emancipation and the weakening of the direct influence of the Crown, viz. that of colonial self-defence. It was impossible for colonists to claim self-government and then ignore the first duty of a self-governing community.

(7) An Act passed in 1855 led to the formation of the first Volunteer Force, and the attention of the colonists turned to the organisation of their defences. Mr. Gladstone, in giving evidence before a Committee of National Defence, fairly laid down in 1859, that 'No community, which is not primarily charged with the ordinary business of its own defences, is really or ever can be in the

full sense of the word a free community. The privileges of freedom and the burdens of freedom are absolutely associated together.' This principle is an important one and its logic is unanswerable. In Canada the law now requires that every able-bodied man between 16 and 60 be enrolled for the defence of the colony. The militia numbers 700,000 men. The shores of the Maritime Provinces, both east and west, would furnish, if occasion arose and the sailors were trained, a strong transatlantic wing to the imperial navy. The Colonial Conference, which met in London in 1887, was summoned chiefly to consider schemes of colonial co-operation in naval and military defence. In Canada the colonists have always been ready and willing to accept their responsibilities. In Sir Edmund Head's time the Royal Canadian 100th regiment of the line was raised in Canada, the first colonial contribution to the British army. Strong sympathy was shown towards England during the Crimean war, and the victory of Alma furnished an occasion for both Houses of the Canadian Legislature to forward congratulations to England, along with two drafts of £10,000 each for the relief of the widows and orphans of the soldiers and sailors of England and France slain in the war.

(8) In the Crimean War three Nova Scotians distinguished themselves, Captain Parker, Major Welsford and General Fenwick Williams. The first two were killed at the final storming of the Redan, Welsford's head being carried away by a cannon ball as he led his men over the parapets. A monument in memory of these heroes was erected by the colonists in 1860 at Halifax. The third bravely defended Kars in Asia Minor, the Queen conferring on him the honour of a Baronetcy under the title of Sir Fenwick Williams of Kars, the British House of Commons voting him a pension of £1000, and the

Legislature of Nova Scotia presenting him with a costly sword. Sir Fenwick was the first native Governor of Nova Scotia, an office afterwards filled by two distinguished Nova Scotians, the Hon. Joseph Howe (1873) and the Hon. Sir A. G. Archibald, who had done good service in Manitoba previously.

(9) The session of 1856 settled that the members of the Upper House or Legislative Council who, according to the Act of 1841, had been nominated by the Crown, were to be now chosen by the vote of the Canadian electors. Those who had already been appointed by the Crown were to retain their seats during life; but twelve new members were to be elected every second year to serve for eight years, and the whole country was divided for the purposes of election into forty-eight electoral districts. An elective Upper House had been the dream of Louis Papineau, but his motive for desiring it was that of securing French domination and perhaps French independence in Lower Canada.

(10) There was a constitutional crisis during the Governorship of Sir Edmund Head in 1858, when the Queen was asked to decide upon a seat of Government in Canada. No fewer than five cities (Quebec, Toronto, Montreal amongst them) claimed the distinction. But the Queen chose Ottawa (Bytown). There was some dissatisfaction at this choice, but, as time went on, the wisdom of it became apparent. By its geographical position the town commanded both steamboat and railway traffic, and was removed equally far from the jealousies of Upper and Lower Canada.

(11) During Sir Edmund Head's term of office substantial progress had been made. In 1861 the population of all Canada amounted to 2,506,000. The terrible struggle that was going on in the United States between North and South had indirectly benefited Canada. In

the fisheries she was relieved from American competition, and her agriculturists and farmers found a ready market for their produce in the war-exhausted regions across the border. Canada herself was on the eve of greater things. The outlines of a wider confederation, which should pacify all parts and unite all parts, were more clearly seen. It was the time for wise men and for wise measures. Parliamentary and public life in the colonies, during these times of the struggle for emancipation, was a splendid training-ground for men of genius, faith, and imagination. Those who have contended for the freedom of their province and colony, and not forgotten the claims of the empire at large, are worthy of honour and respect from every quarter of it.

(12) Lord Monck succeeded Sir Edmund Head (October, 1861), and it was during his administration that the true relation of the colonial Governor to the colonial constitution was discovered and acted upon. Contending parties in Canada were equal, and the balance was so slight that the result was practically a dead-lock between the Upper Canadian Reformers and the Lower Canadian Conservatives. Lord Monck was, to use Lord Norton's words, the first Governor-General to hold a perfectly neutral constitutional-monarchical attitude towards contending parties. He so calmly confronted them, without fear or favour, that a coalition took place between the Brown Reformers and Cartier Conservatives on the policy of a federal union. This coalition included the names also of Tache, Alexander Galt, and John A. Macdonald.

(13) This question now before the country was expressed in Lord Monck's speech upon the occasion of the opening of Parliament in 1865. 'It remained with the public men of British North America to say whether the vast tract of country which they inhabited should be consolidated into a State, combining within its area all the

elements of national greatness, providing for the security of its component parts, and contributing to the strength and stability of the empire, or whether the several provinces of which it was constituted should remain in their present fragmentary and isolated condition, comparatively powerless for mutual aid, and incapable of undertaking their proper share of imperial responsibility.' The answer to this is the Confederation Bill of 1867. It is instructive to read that the politicians of the great Republic across the border had just previously introduced a Bill into Congress, providing for the admission of British North America into the American Union as four separate States, and the assumption of their public debt by the Federal Government.

CHAPTER XX.

Confederation.

(1) IN 1864 the Governments of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island appointed delegates to arrange the terms of a legislative Union of the three Provinces. The delegates met at Charlottetown in Prince Edward Island on September 1, and amongst them were Charles Tupper, W. A. Henry, R. B. Dickey, Jonathan McCully, and Adams G. Archibald from Nova Scotia; Samuel G. Tilley, J. M. Johnson, J. H. Gray, E. B. Chandler, and W. H. Stevens from New Brunswick; Colonel Gray, E. Palmer, W. H. Pope, G. Coles, and A. McDonald from Prince Edward Island. The Coalition Government, which had been considering the

question of the union of the two Provinces of the St. Lawrence valley, asked permission to join the Charlottetown Convention, and accordingly John A. Macdonald, George Brown, Alexander Galt, George E. Cartier, Thomas D'Arcy Magee and William McDougall came down the St. Lawrence in the Government steamer Victoria, to join the rest. Out of the common needs and difficulties of the River and Maritime Provinces a representative Council had arisen. The equally divided representation of 42 members each for the two River Provinces (1841) was becoming unfair in the presence of a very rapidly increasing immigrant British population in Ontario, and by its even balance was destroying Ministries and rendering a strong party government impossible. The inhabitants of both Provinces, the progressive British element in Ontario and the Conservative French in Quebec, welcomed confederation as giving them, by means of provincial autonomy, the right of remedying local grievances arising from different laws, customs and religion, now denied them by the very position of parties. The colonists of the Maritime Provinces had stood apart too long as four separate Governments, to be blind to the obvious advantages of political amalgamation now more than ever forced upon them. The Conservatives and Liberals (or, as they were called, 'The Tories' and 'The Grits') were able to join hands on the momentous issue before them, which was nothing more nor less than the re-construction of their machinery of government. The arrival of the delegates from the River Provinces had widened the character, aim and scope of the Charlottetown Convention, and the delegates of the Maritime Provinces were not authorised at first to discuss the larger Union. It was clear that an effort should be made in every province to make the idea of confederation popular, and with this object in view the

first convention decided to make an appeal to the various centres and sound the constituencies. At the same time the delegates made arrangements for another meeting at Quebec, and the result was the Quebec Scheme (Oct. 10, 1864).

(2) The Canadian Legislatures of the Upper and Lower Provinces met in Quebec in February, 1865, and adopted the Union resolutions by a large majority. The subject had, practically speaking, been a familiar one with them for some years, and upon its satisfactory solution depended a release from an embarrassing political dead-lock. With the Maritime Provinces the case was different. There was a storm of opposition in New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, Newfoundland and Prince Edward Island. In New Brunswick a general election took place and an anti-union Government came into power; in Nova Scotia the subject of confederation was shelved, and the chances of the success of the Quebec meeting seemed very remote. The main objection of the Nova Scotians was that they did not receive enough of the Dominion revenue to meet the expenses of government. But there was suddenly a great revulsion of feeling in New Brunswick. The Lieutenant-Governor and a majority of the Legislative Council had always been strongly in favour of Union, and in a speech from the throne the Lieutenant-Governor, in opposition to his constitutional advisers, recommended Union, and spoke as emphatically on it as Lord Monck, the Governor-General. There was a constitutional crisis and the Ministry resigned; a general election took place, an Unionist majority was returned, and a Ministry formed under the leadership of the Hon. S. L. Tilley. This change of views in the one Maritime Province influenced public opinion in the other. The Government of Nova Scotia again approached the subject, and upon their representations some essential alterations were introduced into the

Quebec resolutions which seemed to safe-guard more completely the separate interests of the Maritime Provinces.

(3) The scene was now shifted to London, and sixteen delegates, representing Upper Canada, Lower Canada, New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, immediately proceeded to arrange the basis of a federal Union. An opposition party, calling themselves 'The People's Delegates,' followed them to London, and endeavoured to thwart the whole scheme, their three chief leaders being Howe, Annand, and Hugh McDonald. The federal movement, however, was too strong to be stayed by mere local and sectional opposition, and colonial opinion was backed up by the powerful advocacy and wisdom of such statesmen as Lord Carnarvon in the Upper House and Mr. (afterwards Lord) Cardwell in the Lower. The 'Dominion of Canada' became an accomplished fact on July 1, 1867, and this day, called 'Dominion Day,' is kept as a public holiday in British North America from end to end. The Act by which the various parts are consolidated into one self-governing and constitutional whole is known as the 'British North America Act[1].'

(4) The Unionist had had to contend with two classes of opponents: (1) those few politicians who would like to keep the provinces weak and disunited, and therefore individually and collectively more dependent upon the mother-country; (2) those who, according to their United States sympathies and their theories about manifest destiny, would incorporate the Canadian Dominion with the United States. These last, probably Republicans at heart, undervalued the depth of Canadian loyalty and the strength of that national sentiment, which prefers to live in honourable connection with the oldest monarchy in Europe, rather than sink great part of their individuality

[1] See Appendix viii.

and local interests in the federal bond of the United States, in political subservience to a huge and overwhelming Republic.

(5) The constitution of the 'Dominion of Canada,' as the whole confederation was termed, imitates that of the mother-country. The authority of the Sovereign is represented by a Governor-General, in whom are vested the executive powers by which laws are carried out. He appoints the Lieutenant-Governors of the Provinces and the judges of the courts. He is the Commander-in-chief of all the military and naval forces of the Dominion, and no Act can become law unless he gives his assent. He can commute the sentence of a court of justice. He is advised on all points by a Cabinet of thirteen members of Parliament, who are responsible ministers and hold the confidence of the country. He is, in a constitutional sense, the fountain of justice and honour, with the power and patronage of the Queen. His salary is £10,000 a year, paid by the Dominion Government.

(6) The Senate consists of life-members nominated by the Crown,—the experiment of electing members to the Upper House having failed,—and numbers 72, 24 sitting for Ontario, 24 for Quebec, 12 for Nova Scotia, and 12 for New Brunswick. A Senator must be a British subject, a resident of the province for which he is elected, and an owner of debt-clear property of the value of $4000 (£800). The Senate, roughly speaking, has the powers of the British House of Lords. The Canadian House of Commons originally numbered 181 members, namely, 82 for Ontario, 65 for Quebec, 19 for Nova Scotia, 15 for New Brunswick. A member of the House of Commons must be a British subject and own debt-clear property worth $2500 (£500). There are thus in the Government of the Dominion four units: (1) the Governor-General; (2) the

Executive Council or Cabinet; (3) the Senate; (4) the House of Commons.

(7) A *federal government* requires that there should be a number of *provincial governments* working in their own sphere and legislating on certain classes of subjects. The limbs which formed the Canadian Dominion in the beginning were (1) Quebec or Lower Canada; (2) Ontario or Upper Canada; (3) Nova Scotia; (4) New Brunswick. Each of these Provinces was governed by a Lieutenant-Governor and a Legislature consisting of one or two branches according to its choice. All the Provinces except Ontario chose to have two branches, viz. an Assembly elected by the people and a Legislative Council named by the Crown. Ontario chose to have only an Assembly, which consisted at first of eighty-two members. In all the Provinces the Assemblies are elected for four years. Each of the Lieutenant-Governors is aided by an Executive Council or Ministry responsible to the Legislature, and through it, to the Province, for all measures and acts of government.

(8) When any fresh Province wishes to enter the Dominion, the majority of the inhabitants must express their willingness, after which the Legislatures of that Province and the Dominion Parliament pass the necessary Acts, which must also receive the sanction of royal authority. This confederation of the Provinces did not take from them the great boon of responsible government, but only secured it to all in a more complete form. To the federal Government at Ottawa was given the charge of those matters which concerned *all the Provinces collectively*, such as (1) Trade and Commerce; (2) the Postal Service; (3) the Census; (4) the Military and Naval Defence of the Country; (5) Navigation; (6) Fisheries; (7) Coinage; (8) Banking and issue of Paper-Notes; (9) Indian and Native Questions; (10) Criminal Law. Appeal Suits, etc.

The provincial Legislatures had their own work appointed for them also. They could (1) levy direct taxes within the province, and (2) regulate their own municipal institutions; (3) issue licences; (4) control their own public works; (5) provide for education; (6) for the primary and local administration of justice.

(9) In the constitutional history of the English people here was an important departure. The experiment was being made of interweaving federal principles with monarchical institutions. To many politicians the only lasting and durable type of federalism seemed to be that of the Swiss Confederation or the United States. Could a monarchy, with its ideal of a supreme head and centre of society, be compatible with the working of such democratic institutions as prevailed in the Dominion? In the discussions upon the Dominion Act, speakers in the British House of Commons argued that the compromise underlying the whole question was an impossible one, a grafting of a new growth upon an old stem, doomed to failure. Mr. Bright (Feb. 19, 1867) having stigmatised as 'a germ of malady' every part of the new constitution which differed from the American model, Lord Carnarvon answered, 'We are in this measure setting the crown to the free institutions which we have given to British North America.' More than twenty years have elapsed since the passing of the great Canadian Union Act, and there are no signs as yet of a germ of malady having developed into a fatal head. The constitutional link between the Dominion and the mother-country is hardly perceptible to the outward eye, but nevertheless it is a strong one.

(10) Burke, in his immortal speech on 'Conciliation with America,' has rightly described the nature of our hold upon the colonies, and the political relations that might be entered into between a colonial government on one side

and the mother-country on the other. The passage is worth quoting, as it is historical: 'My hold of the colonies is in the close affection which grows from common names, from kindred blood, from similar privileges, and equal protection. These are ties which, though light as air, are as strong as links of iron. Let the colonies always keep the idea of their civil rights associated with your government, they will cling and grapple to you, and no force under heaven will be of power to tear them from their allegiance. But let it be once understood that your government may be one thing and their privileges another; that these two things may exist without any mutual relation; the cement is gone; the cohesion is loosened, and everything hastens to decay and dissolution. As long as you have the wisdom to keep the sovereign authority of this country as the sanctuary of liberty, the sacred temple consecrated to our common faith, wherever the chosen race and sons of England worship freedom, they will turn their faces towards you. . . . Deny them this participation of freedom and you break that sole bond, which originally made and must still preserve the unity of the empire. . . . Do not dream that your letters of office and your instructions and your suspending clauses are the things which hold together the great contexture of the mysterious whole. These things do not make your government. Dead instruments, passive tools as they are, it is the spirit of the English communion that gives all their life and efficacy to them. It is the spirit of the English constitution, which, infused through the mighty mass, pervades, feeds, unites, invigorates, vivifies every part of the empire, even down to its minutest member.'

(11) The Canadian confederation was a great political act which carried into actual practice the burning words of Burke. It has become a great precedent for the

imitation of other parts of our colonial empire. Inter-colonial federation has already been discussed in the Pacific colonies, and the time cannot be far distant when a United Australasia will arise like a United Canada. In our South African colonies confederation was attempted ten years after the Canadian Act, but failed owing to certain exceptional reasons. But South Africa must inevitably become politically one in course of time. In the British West Indies a Caribbean confederation may follow. If so, the Britons of the future may behold upon the face of the earth three, if not four, great colonial federal Britains, in North America, the West Indies, South Africa, and Australia. Such a grouping of free federal colonies could never have been foreseen or even guessed at a hundred years ago, though even then the 'spirit of the English constitution' was working out its wonderful results with a hidden and subtle power, only detected by the keen eyes of such statesmen as Burke.

(12) There is one feature of the British constitution which was reproduced in the Canadian Dominion, and which may contain within itself the germ of a great Federal Council of the empire, and that is the Canadian Privy Council. The members of this Council, being nominees of the Crown, represent in a peculiar and most forcible way the influence of the monarchy of England in the midst of democratic institutions. The Privy Council is *constitutional* in its origin, *representative* in its character, and *supreme* in its decisions. It was a wise, far-reaching policy that retained this most ancient Council in colonial constitutions. In course of time there may be not only a Privy Council of Canada, but one also of Australia and of South Africa. If any way of fusion with the Home Privy Council is discovered, these colonial Privy Councils, all appointed in the same way and elected on similar

principles, might become a grand consultative Federal Council of the empire.

(13) The Dominion Act carried with it a power of expansion. In 1870 the Manitoba Act defined the limits of the Prairie Province; in 1871, British Columbia with Vancouver Island was admitted within the federal pale; and in 1873 the Prince Edward Islanders overcame their first scruples, and threw in their lot with the Dominion under certain conditions. It was impossible, however, that the British North America Act should work smoothly at once.

CHAPTER XXI.

Federalism in the United States and South Africa.

(1) THIS movement, ending in the confederation of British North America, naturally recalls the kindred Union of the Thirteen States in 1783. Canadian statesmen availed themselves of the example before them, and Sir John Macdonald, in moving the resolution in favour of the Union in the Legislative Assembly of Canada, observed: 'We can now take advantage of the experience of the last seventy-eight years during which the United States constitution has existed, and I am strongly of belief that we have in a great measure avoided, in this system which we propose for the adoption of the people of Canada, the defects which time and events have shown to exist in the American con-

stitution.' In each case the framers set out from a different stand-point. The federalists of the United States, in breaking away from the sovereignty of England, were compelled to create in some of its main aspects an *instrument of government* deferring always to the will of the people, who were the depository of supreme power. In Canada all power is supposed to descend down from the Crown, and so in the Dominion Government 'all the powers not delegated to the Provinces are held by the Crown. In the United States all the powers not delegated to the Federal Government by the States are held by the States.' To the Canadians it seemed wise to restrict the power of the Provincial Legislatures. It was largely a question of state-rights which had brought about the terrible war of 1861. The Canadian Provinces have no separate militia, the whole of the naval and military defence resting entirely with the central Executive.

(2) In the United States a President is elected every four years, in the Canadian Dominion a Governor-General is sent out from England for a term of five years, but this period of office is only assured to him on condition of successful administration. In the United States the President and his Ministers and Congress are practically independent for four years, in Canada the Governor-General, acting by the advice of a Ministry responsible to the Canadian Parliament, is a constitutional ruler through whom the turns of public opinion can be immediately expressed. The Executive, therefore, represents more quickly what is generally needed, affairs are brought to a direct issue, and if there is a dead-lock an appeal is at once made to the country. Canadians point out that the want of responsibility in the dead-lock between the Senate and House in the United States is a defect in their constitution.

(3) Again, the revision of the United States constitution

rests with their Legislature and their Supreme Court, and it is safe-guarded against undue interference and tampering by a condition which requires from all practically an unanimous assent. The Canadians cannot revise their constitution or amend it unless they appeal to the Crown. The Crown is, in fact, the head of their constitution. In the Dominion the Central Government pays subsidies to the Provinces, the amount so paid in 1886–7 reaching £800,000. For instance, when Prince Edward Island joined the confederation in 1873, one of the conditions was, that in consideration of the transfer of the powers of taxation and of their own comparative freedom from a public debt, the Island should receive certain payments in money from the Dominion Government. Further, as it was clear that the Islanders could not enjoy such a revenue from Crown Lands as the inland Provinces with their immense areas, pecuniary compensation was given on this score also. They were also promised a railway as one of the inducements to join the Union. In the case of British Columbia the promise of the Canadian Pacific Railway was by far the strongest inducement of all to join the confederation.

(4) The greatest differences between the two governments, however, will appear if we consider 'the States' of the Republic and 'the Provinces' of the Dominion in their relations to the Central or Federal Legislature. In Canada the Provinces have no power of final legislation, every act being subject to Dominion revision and vote. In the United States greater powers of independent action are conceded. From the very nature of their first alliance, which was eminently one of 'pares cum paribus,' this freedom could be inferred. In carrying out the details of a federal government at first, the rule would appear to obtain that the closer the equality of the confederating members the greater their individual freedom.

The contracting States being equal, the give-and-take methods will be easy to see and apply. But if in point of numbers, progress, wealth, and credit there is such a disparity as that which existed at first between Manitoba or British Columbia, or Prince Edward Island on the one hand, and Quebec and Ontario on the other, then provincial freedom must surely be lessened, and a corresponding increase of federal control take place. It is clear however that in time, with immigration and natural causes at work, this inequality will disappear, and things will mend themselves: the Central or Dominion Government will cease to be the nurse of weakling Provinces when these weaklings become sturdy adults.

(5) In the United States any system of 'States' subsidies, railways, and allowances is objected to as 'certain to lead to State demoralisation, and tending directly to undermine its dignity and importance.' The States should not be pensioners of the Central Government. But surely the cases are very different. In the case of the Dominion the principle of compensation was rendered necessary by circumstances, the 'Provinces' being so completely different from one another in area, fertility, climate, natural resources, and development. Placing Ontario side by side with Prince Edward Island, New Brunswick with Manitoba, or Quebec with British Columbia, it is clear that their confederation could not follow upon the exact lines of Maine, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Pensylvania, and the rest, being a group of neighbouring self-contained maritime settlements.

(6) Further, it is said that the confederating Canadian Provinces were originally bribed to enter the Union by railways and subsidies, a defect which does not exist in the United States, which were originally held together by some sentiment stronger than that arising from participation in a common public work. But the

railway factor is a very strong one and peculiar to our own times. It is a necessary link in cementing the union of two such provinces as Nova Scotia and British Columbia. Nor were the considerations of public debts, incurred for works of progress, likely to cause such nice adjustments in the United States as in the Dominion. In the one case the compensatory principle is almost demanded, in the other it did not arise from the exigencies and geographical circumstances of the confederating members. Borrowing largely in the colonies for colonial improvements is a new feature in political economy. Here, also, it may be noticed that the State subsidies are becoming, relatively to the progress of the whole Dominion, small and insignificant amounts, and ultimately they may all be redeemed.

(7) Much has been made of the actual and possible friction between 'Dominion' Legislation and Provincial Rights in British North America, and the recent determination of the Manitoba farmers to develop their own trade by means of a railway to the United States border, in spite of the monopoly of the Canadian Pacific Railway, has been cited as an instance. In this, as in all other matters of dispute, the Canadian Confederation possesses in the supreme appeal to the mother-country a guarantee of an absolutely fair decision, the Crown and Government of England being too far removed to be prejudiced or biassed judges of the suit. Generally speaking, the Union of the Republican States has been cemented by the bloodshed of two great wars, while that of the Canadian Dominion has been a work of peace and the result of administrative ability. It is yet to be proved that the shedding of blood in fratricidal war is a necessary preliminary to a complete soldering of voluntary civil compacts.

(8) The British North America Act also suggests the

confederation scheme placed before the South African states by Lord Carnarvon in 1874–5, and known as the 'South Africa Act.' Just as the French and British settlers of British North America had been welded together into a fairly homogeneous whole by a great and comprehensive policy, so it was thought that, in South Africa, Dutch and British could be similarly treated. It is well known that the South Africa Act, which thus followed the precedent of the British North America Act, failed in its purpose. The causes are not far to seek. The country, the peoples, and the political circumstances of South Africa are all greatly different from those of North America. To begin with—the physical features of South Africa have, as already pointed out, always thrown great obstacles in the way of easy communication, quick transit, and social intercourse. The Boer population, 'trekking' away over enormous expanses of 'veldt,' have clustered together as isolated clans in lonely mountain 'kloofs' or combes, and in sequestered river valleys. The Free State and the Transvaal have, until quite lately, been remote and exclusive communities out of touch with the rest of South Africa, ignorant of European civil life. The shores of South Africa are singularly inhospitable, and there is scarcely a *natural* harbour worth the name along the whole littoral, both east and west, from Walvisch Bay to Zanzibar. The plains are vast and monotonous, and only at rare intervals afford good pasturage, with the priceless boon of 'fonteins' and mountain rivulets. Naturally, therefore, the civil and religious life of other nations has been to the South African colonist for several generations nothing but a faint rumour and tradition. Being more than 6000 miles distant from Europe, the play of European ideas and the current of contemporary European history found no entrance into their still desert-like existence. How different

from the case of Canada, which could be reached from the Old World in a comparatively few days, and where nature had done everything, both in winter and summer, to promote quick intercourse, and to bring together, in a social and commercial sense, the scattered settlements of the great St. Lawrence valley. Moreover, the natural outlet of Europe has always seemed to be from east to west. In South Africa, the railway alone can unite the villages, and even there along those vast expanses it is only like a thin line of civilisation.

(9) The very geographical surroundings of the Boer population, who were really the most important factor in the situation, had its natural effect upon character. For the descendants of the old Voertrekkers or pioneers the federal notion was far too much of a modern product to grasp. The structure of their society was simple, the machinery of their government of a rudimentary description. They liked a governing power they could see, and a President they could speak to face to face. To be part of a federal government meant a Bureau at Capetown hundreds of miles away. Their ideal life is a patriarchal and pastoral existence, with a well-known man such as the late President Brand of the 'Free State' to rule them.

(10) The French in Lower Canada had always associated British rule with religious liberty from the very beginning, and, although Roman Catholics in their profession, had felt perfectly safe in the possession of their churches and church property and educational endowments, safer indeed than a similar body of Christian believers in the mother-country, for French Canadians had never broken with their past by revolution and massacre as Old France had. But the Dutch and French Huguenots of the Cape had not quite the same historical memories to fall back upon. They had from the very first days of the final cession of

Cape Colony to England enjoyed religious liberty, but they took the boon as a matter due from a Protestant State like England to Protestant colonists like themselves, and so were not, nay, perhaps could not be, so grateful as the Roman Catholics of the Quebec valley. The only grievance of the Established Dutch Church at the Cape has been found by its 'predikants' and deacons in the liberal Act of 1875, which, on the motion of a progressive English section, introduced the voluntary system and put all sects on the same level. In Canada the spirit of toleration contained in the Constitution of 1791 fell upon the French colonists as an unexpected gift from heaven. During those days of religious fanaticism in Europe and of Roman Catholic Disabilities Bills in England the act appeared almost unaccountable. Nevertheless they received it as a definite measure of grace, and the kindly memories of Imperial generosity sank deep into their hearts.

(11) It is true that the Dutch had not fraternised very cordially with the British settlers of Natal and the Cape Colony, but this was not on account of religion, the Scotch Presbyterian immigrants often taking important posts as ministers in their Church. The opposition was on other grounds. Being chiefly employed in pastoral and agricultural pursuits, they distrusted the 'uitlanders' or foreigners with their keen business faculties and commercial instincts. As regards Europe, they had no link or continuous tradition with it, but this fact perhaps threw them back upon an African nationality. The Dutch Boers were not a 'federalising' people, and probably never will be so of their own free will. If they ever are a part or portion of federal South Africa, it will be because they are swamped by the Anglo-Saxon race. Perhaps federalism rests upon a common commercial policy, and a common trade development more than anything else;

but the Protestant refugees of the Cape Colony forgot the sea after that one perilous quest in 1687, have disliked trade and traders, and discouraged railways as a new-fangled notion interfering with the ox-wagon and the trade of transport-riding or carrying.

(12) Again, the Canadian population had at their very doors the successful example of a federal form of government, which was so strong that even a cruel and disastrous civil war could not impair it. Judging from the Republic on the south, a federal form of government with its local rights and its provincial freedom was a very suitable instrument in a new world. The abrupt termination of the Reciprocity Treaty with the United States drove the Canadians back upon themselves and their country, and a certain number of border raids and a Republican 'spread-eagleism' made them more determined than ever to preserve an individuality of their own, both in character and government. All these motives and inducements were wanting in South Africa.

(13) In the Canadian Dominion, and especially along the Maritime Provinces, there has been a strong sympathy with England's maritime strength and naval powers. The hardy Scotch fishermen and crofters, recruited by Scandinavians and Icelanders, have reproduced the adventurous spirit of the old country. As a proof of this, Canada can boast of a mercantile marine ranking fourth in order amongst the nations of the world. In the 'Fisheries' disputes England's navy has always seemed a tower of strength to them. The fishing and nautical population of the Cape consists almost entirely of half-breed Hottentots and imported Malays. It would be impossible to recruit for the navy at Simonstown or Port Elizabeth in South Africa, whilst at Halifax, St. John's, and Esquimault able seamen would abound. Three adventurous burghers from the Free State constructed a

small boat and sailed from Durban to England in 1887, a most adventurous voyage of ten months; but they were Scandinavians, two of them born at Bodo in the north of Norway, recently come into the country, and the boat they sailed in, The Homeward Bound, was built entirely of imported American pitch-pine.

(14) Further, the native element was an entirely new feature in South Africa. The thousands of Kaffirs on the east and north of the South African states made the theory and practice of government more complicated than in British North America, where the Red Indians, originally few in number, had been separated off and confined in well-known reserves and locations. There was a native difficulty in the one country and not in the other, and in order to meet this difficulty successfully the Imperial Government, in their 'South Africa Act,' were compelled to make important limitations on provincial and federal jurisdiction. In all cases they reserved to themselves the right of a veto upon native legislation, being afraid in great measure of the Boer and perhaps, in some respects, the colonial theory of native administration. To begin with, here was a never-ending source of friction. Evidently, if the South African States were really ready for the federal form of government, they should have been trusted fully on native administration as well as on any other branch. The native question ran through the whole of South African policy both in great and small things. Municipalities or provinces might have to legislate on the native location just outside the borders of their towns, or on the pass system for natives, or education, or labour missions, or prison discipline; yet at any moment the Imperial Government might step in and veto their regulations. In Canada there was no such difficulty in general and particular legislation rising up as a spectre on all occasions.

(15) Moreover, the distribution of governing power amongst the head officials in North America and South Africa was and continues to be different. In the first place there exists in South Africa the office of 'High Commissioner,' by virtue of which the Governor of the Cape Colony holds extraordinary powers, and controls measures relating to the native policy of the colonists, throughout the length and breadth of South Africa. There is in this country a problem within a problem, and a mixture of civil and military authority which recalls the familiar features of the methods of oriental administration, and is repugnant to true colonial liberty and the workings of Responsible Government.

(16) In British North America the confederating states, e. g. Upper and Lower Canada, New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia, had for many years been accustomed to an almost identical form of government—of a Governor, Cabinet, and, generally speaking, two Houses elected by the people. The British North America Act involved no great disarrangement of this existing machinery, and left to the Provinces all the liberty they required with all the familiar features of the administrative centres. In South Africa the various communities agreed to differ both in the form of their government and the manner of administration. Cape Colony enjoyed a Responsible Government, Natal was still a Crown colony, 'The Free State' was a Republic governed by a President and a Volksraad, altogether independent of British rule, 'The Transvaal' was a Republic also, and the native territories in the Transkei, Basutoland, Pondoland presented various phases of administration according as they came directly or indirectly under Imperial control. In Canada the form of government had become stereotyped, in South Africa it was constantly fluctuating in accordance with the exigencies

of the times. In Canada there has always been a strong steadying influence introduced by large numbers of British immigrants who came into the country of their own free will, not as persecuted exiles or dissatisfied subjects, but in many cases as well-to-do men desirous of increased prosperity. In South Africa the stream of immigration has been slow and sluggish, the governments of the country discouraging free passages and reserving Africa for the Afrikanders.

(17) Lastly, with regard to the fitting time and moment for introducing schemes of political union to the South African States, if confederation under the British Crown was to have fair play there, it ought not to have been introduced under circumstances of peril to British sovereignty. Lord Carnarvon's Act (1874–5) suffered indirectly from the untoward circumstances of the time; it received a check in the Gaika-Galeka wars (1877–8), when the Home and Colonial authorities quarrelled on the subject of the divided command, for colonial sentiment was irritated here; it was discredited by the terrible Isandlwana disaster, January, 1879, for Home sentiment declared itself outraged; and it received its final blow after the ignominious Boer campaign, when British Imperial policy underwent a completely new and unexpected change. It would appear, therefore, that the Australasian colonies are from their political circumstances more likely than the South African to be the next to follow the Canadian example. Their form of government more closely resembles that of the Canadian previous to Lord Carnarvon's Act of 1867, and there is no desire to question England's sovereignty in the South Pacific. The Boer element is undoubtedly the recalcitrant factor in South Africa, and the federalism they desire at present is the federalism of the two Boer Republics—the Free State and the Transvaal.

(18) The manner of approaching the great question officially was different in the two countries. In Canada the preliminaries were discussed amongst the colonists themselves at Quebec, and formed the subject of so many distinct resolutions which furnished a basis for the great scheme in London. In South Africa, confederation as between the various provinces had scarcely been touched upon locally. In the Cape Colony there had been for some time a jealousy between east and west, between the older Dutch population in the vicinity of Capetown and the newer stratum of British colonists who, since 1820, had made Port Elizabeth and Algoa Bay a kind of social and political centre. In 1874–5 the notion of a Confederated Dominion would have gained ground with many men of the Eastern Province, because they wished for greater provincial autonomy and a dissolution of the close political partnership with the slow and unprogressive Dutch of the western districts. The question of the separation of these two Provinces was not unlike that of the Upper and Lower Provinces in Canada. As the keen and progressive British settlers of Ontario found the Conservative and Roman Catholic French *habitans* of Quebec uncongenial yoke-fellows, so the business men of Port Elizabeth and enterprising farmers of Albany found the partnership of the obstructive Boer element, wedded to an old custom and a rigid form of life, inimical to the progress of the colony. Federalism, by delegating provincial autonomy, would have eased the bonds they felt at Capetown.

(19) Still, the question of confederation had never been regarded as one of indigenous growth in South Africa, as it may be said to have been regarded in Canada—certainly since the time of Lord Durham's Report. It was looked upon by the South Africans as an 'exogen,' and the politicians of the day determined that it should not be

allowed a chance of growing in the soil. The very idea of a Conference, which was suggested by Lord Carnarvon as a convenient opportunity for personal intercourse and the discussion of the subject in London, was negatived in the Assembly at Capetown (May, 1875). The 'South Africa Act' fell still-born upon the country and never had a hearing. The Cape colonists said that the idea of inter-colonial federation should originate with themselves, and not with the mother-country. The opposition encountered in South Africa to the Imperial policy was completely different in kind and degree from that experienced from Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. In South Africa the idea of confederation was summarily rejected from the very beginning; in North America the tendency of public opinion had been in favour of it for a long time.

CHAPTER XXII.

The Great North-West.

(1) As a landmark in Canadian history the British North America Act served as a beginning and an end. It noted the final amalgamation of the River and Maritime Provinces, and at the same time laid the germs for future development westward. Beyond the limits of the Lake of the Woods and the sources of the St. Lawrence there were other Provinces, destined to be the homes of thousands, perhaps millions of immigrants. They lay well within the wheat-bearing zone, and gave absolutely

limitless range to 'ranchers' and farmers. Gallant explorers and 'path-finders' had made their way from point to point, over creek and river, through forest and valley, till the great polar seas were descried and the outlines of the Rockies unfolded little by little to the cartographer's view. The 'Great North-West,' destined to furnish many confederating Provinces, had a history of its own since the days of the Stuarts and the founding of *The Hudson's Bay Company.* In 1670 Prince Rupert obtained from Charles the Second a Charter which made him and the Hudson's Bay Company nominal monopolists of an extent of country stretching from Lake Superior to the Rocky Mountains, from Manitoba to Athabasca. Its area was nearly as large as Europe. It was thinly inhabited and almost entirely unexplored. Roving tribes of Indians found their way there as fur-hunters, and here and there a few traders' posts were set up. But to the European explorer and first trader, these regions of Canada seemed a howling and unproductive desert of ice and snow, where winter reigned supreme for eight months of the year.

(2) Over this boundless region of the North-West, Prince Rupert and his colleagues, a company of English noblemen and gentlemen, exercised proprietary rights. The Company held their courts and exercised jurisdiction. The right to appropriate the country was often questioned, the French explorers and concessionnaires having been first in the field. Fur-traders from France are said to have penetrated, in 1706, as far as the Assiniboine Valley, and in 1784 the Montreal North-West Company was formed, but the Hudson's Bay Company held its own for exactly 200 years. In reality this was a vast 'No man's land,' for a long time tenanted by the buffalo, beaver, and moose. The Company aided materially in opening up the land. Ex-

ploration in the Far West was carried on by means of light canoes, which could be carried from one point to another by the Indians and voyageurs, the most being thus made of the countless rivers and lakes. A trade route was made in many places along the numerous 'portages' or carrying-places between river and river, and lake and lake.

(3) The South African explorer, like the United States western emigrant with his *prairie schooner* slowly passing westward over the vast central plains, takes with him a large waggon, many draught oxen, horses, and a whole retinue of native drivers and attendants. The difficulty there is, in many regions, to find water, or 'salt pans' as they are called. The huge canvas-covered 'buck-waggon' is like the 'Ship of the Desert,' moving slowly and laboriously along with struggling teams of oxen. How different the ways and methods of Canadian travel! It is the land of the canoe, the sleigh, and the snow-shoe; the one useful in summer, the others in winter. The Hudson's Bay Company established their posts from point to point on the huge continent, and, in leading the way to exploration, developed a peculiar class of men exactly fitted for the task. Many Orcadians from the islands of Scotland were engaged as storesmen and voyageurs, and French half-breeds, natives, and adventurers of every nation hunted the vast preserves of the Company. The endurance of the voyageur and fur-dealer is proverbial. The great Fur Company liked to keep half a continent to themselves as a hunting-ground, and long discouraged emigration. At one time they employed 3000 agents, traders, and voyageurs, and many thousands of Indians. They divided the whole territory into four departments, thirty-three districts, and 152 posts. The value of the fur-trade from the commencement up to 1870 was calculated at between £20,000,000 and £30,000,000.

Trade with the Indians was carried on by barter. The skin of the beaver was the unit of computation. Four or five beavers were equal to one silver fox, two martens to a beaver, twenty musk-rats to a marten. If an Indian wished to purchase a gun he had to give twenty beaver skins for it. The tariff was one of very old standing, and was well known amongst the Indians. Under the Company's management the Indians were well cared for; they were not allowed to buy Fire-water, and quarrels between them and the Europeans were of the rarest occurrence. The *régime* of this Company was generally beneficial to the tribes and profitable to themselves, as long as the beaver, musk-rat, otter, fox, racoon, and badger continued to yield to the hunters their valuable skins in the well-known hunting-grounds.

(4) Rupert's Land meant what is now included under Manitoba, Kewatin, Assiniboia, Saskatchewan, Alberta, Athabasca[1]. But much of it was hidden from the ken of men. Here was another system of vast lakes and deep rivers which dwarfed the floods of the Old World. The Mackenzie, from its rise in the Rocky Mountains to its mouth in the Arctic Ocean, is 2000 miles long, and the Saskatchewan runs a course of 1300 miles before it mixes its waters with those of Lake Winnipeg. Great Bear Lake was found to be 180 miles long and 105 broad, Athabasca was 200, Great Slave Lake 280 miles long, Lake Winnipeg 280, the Lake of the Woods 60 miles long and 32 broad. In addition, there were minor lakes, as Deer Lake and Wollaston Lake. Most of the region lay outside the Arctic Circle, and when the brief warm summer came it seemed to call forth in an extraordinarily short time the gifts of nature. It has long been discovered that the country between Winnipeg and the Rocky Mountains is the finest wheat-field in the world.

[1] See Appendix ix.

(5) There are said to be three classes of soil in this region. There is the *great plain of the Red River*, a vast country with great fertility of soil, boasting of the best climate both with regard to the length of summer and the temperature of winter. There is the *second prairie level round Regina* forming a splendid wheat country; and there is a *third prairie level* west of Moose Jaw, lately discovered to be useful for grazing purposes chiefly. But in 1670 the country was looked upon simply as a region for the hunter and fur-trader. No one had yet explored as far westward as the Rocky Mountains. Winter sets in over the regions about the middle of November, and the husbandman cannot sow his seed till April. Summer comes quickly and rushes through the sky. Haytime is in June and July, harvesting in August and September, and in October the roots are pulled; so the farmer must not lag behind in the brief space allowed him. The atmosphere is clear and bracing, the number of cloudy days in the year being seldom more than sixty or seventy, and the golden grain is ripened quickly. The native population is sparse and scattered over enormous regions, and it is calculated that between the Red River and the Rocky Mountains there were never more than 50,000 souls, the principal tribes being the Crees, Blackfeet, Saulteaux, and Swampies.

(6) It was impossible under the old *régime* for settlement and colonisation to go on quietly. Here and there were lonely settlements or factories, as at Forts York and Moose Factory on the Hudson's Bay shore, Fort Chippewyan on the Slave River, Forts Resolution and Providence on the Slave Lake, Forts Macleod and Vermilion on the Peace River, and Forts Edmonton and Carleton House in the Saskatchewan Valley, Forts Alexander and Pelly in the Winnipeg Lake district, and Fort Macleod on the extreme south near the Kootany Pass over the Rockies.

Each one of these forts or factories constituted a little centre of industry, to and from which, for many generations, the hunters and trappers of the Great North-West came and went.

(7) In course of time, however, the loose tenure of a proprietary, especially as it was coupled with the duties of government, was found to be altogether inadequate. From the State of Minnesota there was at one time an overflow of population, and the gold discoveries north of latitude 45° attracted a digger population. In 1863 the rights of the old Company were sold to a new proprietary, of which Sir Edmund Head was the chairman, and in order to connect the Far West with the Maritime Provinces and with England, a scheme of telegraphic communication was set on foot. Under the provisions of the Union Act, the Canadian Legislature made an application to the Crown for the annexation of the Hudson's Bay Territory.

(8) The Company had for a long time taken their stand upon their old charter of 1670. and their original proprietary rights, and in 1849 had declined to refer a question raised upon the subject of their trade and territory to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. But the time for the exercise of their rights was rapidly passing away as the country ceased to be a mere hunters' preserve; and in 1857, the law officers advised that, though the Crown could not fairly contest the Company's charter or proprietorship, yet the Company could not be allowed to establish monopolies of government or trade. This was the principle ultimately adopted in 1870.

(9) In 1870 the Hudson's Bay Company parted with their monopoly of government. The North-West Territory was transferred to the Dominion of Canada. The Company received £300,000 compensation, retaining their posts and trade, and a right to the twentieth part of lands

surveyed for future settlements, and a guarantee against exceptional taxation. The Company's governors became chief agents at trading posts. Their system of government was divided thus: (1) Commissioners-in-chief of Rupert's Land, (2) Commissioners and Councils of Districts, (3) Sheriffs, and (4) Magistrates. These officials still retained their position and influence. As a result of the handing over of their territory to the Dominion, the natives were placed in Prairie Reserves, and the amount given to half-breeds was 1,200,000 square miles. Since 1867, the Dominion Government has set aside in Manitoba and the North-West no less than 616,400 square miles of territory for the natives. Both natives and half-breeds are gradually adapting themselves to European customs and usages, and one half-breed was Premier of Manitoba for some years.

(10) But it is from the date of the Selkirk settlement that the colonisation of the Far West and the prosperity of Manitoba may be said to have begun. It was a romantic enterprise in the first instance, and was conducted for the relief of distressed Highlanders by Thomas Douglas, Earl of Selkirk, who had become chairman of the Hudson's Bay Company and acquired 116,000 square miles of land. The project had the warm sympathy of the great poet and novelist Sir Walter Scott, who, in a letter written some years afterwards to the founder (10th June, 1819), testified to his 'generous and disinterested disposition,' and also 'his talents and perseverance,' in carrying out wise schemes of national colonisation. The cause of their migration was the prostration which fell upon all classes after the terrible Napoleonic wars, and was felt more particularly by those who could least afford it.

(11) They set out from the little fishing village of Helmsdale, once a settlement of the Northmen in

Sutherland, in vessels manned by hardy Orkney islanders, and after rounding the north of Scotland touched at Sligo in Ireland, and then faced the terrors of the Atlantic in their small vessels. They followed the tempestuous course of those early mariners who tried to discover the north-west passage, threading their way through the drifting icebergs of Davis's Bay and entering Hudson's Bay in the autumn. They landed at Fort York, the trading port of the great Company, and prepared to pass the long and terrible winter there before going south along the valley of the Nelson River to Winnipeg. It was a bold venture and it had to be carried through, not only in face of the difficulties of the climate, but in spite of the Fur Company of Montreal, which was opposed to the Hudson's Bay Company. Although they set out in 1811, the Highlanders did not reach their destination till 1812. The prospect seemed so bad that they very nearly abandoned the project of colonisation, but, in 1816, Lord Selkirk appeared with a fresh band of emigrants, and they resolved to remain.

(12) The name of 'Selkirk' is preserved in the North-West, the metropolitan county of Manitoba being named after the Earl. Fort Daer (situated at the angle of the Red and Pembina Rivers) and Fort Douglas both preserve the honourable name of 'Thomas Douglas, fifth Earl of Selkirk, and Baron Daer.' He deserves to be ranked with Lord Baltimore, who took a settlement to the Peninsula of Avalon in Newfoundland, afterwards removing to Maryland in the United States, and also with William Penn, founder of Pennsylvania. Lord Selkirk conceived larger projects than either of these, and aspired to founding another Highland Province in the heart of North America. The attachment between himself and the Highlanders was deep and strong, and he moved amongst them as

a great chief. Lord Selkirk thus describes the scene on Prince Edward's Island in 1803, when he took a body of no fewer than eight hundred emigrants there in three ships. 'I arrived at the place late in the evening, and it had a very striking appearance. Each family had kindled a large fire near their wigwams, and around these were assembled groups of figures whose peculiar national dress added to the singularity of the scene. Confused heaps of baggage were everywhere piled together before their wild habitations, and by the number of fires the whole wood was illuminated. At the end of this line of encampment I pitched my own tent, and was surrounded in the morning by a numerous assemblage of people, whose behaviour indicated that they looked to nothing less than the happy days of clanship [1].'

(13) About the time of the Selkirk settlements, there was a passion in England for Arctic adventure and exploration, encouraged by the Admiralty at home and to some extent by the Hudson's Bay Company in Canada. Captain John Franklin, one of England's greatest heroes, who had sailed with David Buchan (1818) in the direction of the North Pole by way of Spitzbergen, undertook a series of voyages across the north-west of Canada, with a view especially of determining the character of the coast-line of the Polar Sea. On the occasion of his first reaching Norway Point on the peninsula which separates Play Green and Winnipeg Lakes, Franklin mentions in his Narrative that he met there a detachment of Lord Selkirk's colonists. 'These poor people,' he writes, 'were exceedingly pleased at meeting us again in this wild country: having accompanied them across the Atlantic, they viewed us in the light of old acquaintances.' The task Franklin had set himself to do required the greatest possible fortitude and

[1] See Appendix x.

endurance, when we take into consideration the nature of winter-travelling in these bleak regions of cold and famine, where even the hardy Indian often succumbed. But the geographical problem of the Polar Sea was a fascinating one. This sea was known to exist, as Hearne had caught a glimpse of it from the mouth of the Coppermine River (1769–72), and Mackenzie had reached it by the Mackenzie River in 1789, and Captain Cook on board the Discovery (1778), passing through Behring's Strait, had seen it covered with ice in latitude 71° N. Captain Franklin's first instructions from Earl Bathurst (1819) were to explore the coast from the mouth of the Coppermine River eastwards. His companions in this memorable voyage were Doctor Richardson, George Back and Robert Hood, Admiralty midshipmen, and that noble specimen of a British seaman, John Hepburn, whose pluck and sterling qualities Franklin himself attested. Their route was by York Factory on Hudson's Bay, thence by Cumberland House on the Saskatchewan River, north-west of Lake Winnipeg, a distance of 700 miles. Ten rivers and nine lakes were very carefully described by Hood and Back along this first section of their journey. From Cumberland House Franklin travelled to Carlton House, and thence northwards to Isle à la Crosse, at the sources of the Missinnippi (Churchill) River and the Athabasca (Elk). Thence his way led him across the Methy Portage to Fort Chippewyan, a distance of 857 miles. To gain an idea of the immense distances in this country, it may be observed that from the Great Slave Lake to the mouth of the Mackenzie it is, according to Franklin, 1045 miles. Passing down the Slave River and across the Slave Lake, Franklin wintered at Fort Enterprise, 550 miles from Fort Chippewyan. In 1820 he had travelled along the Coppermine River to the sea, and saw the shores of Coronation Gulf.

(14) In 1825–7 Franklin and Richardson undertook a second journey to the Polar seas. Their instructions were to proceed down the Mackenzie River to the sea, and then to part company, Franklin to explore westwards as far as Icy Cape, long. 161° 42′ W., where Captain Beechey, sailing in H.M.S. Blossom by way of Behring's Strait, was to meet him, and Richardson to go eastwards as far as the Coronation Gulf and the Coppermine River. The results of both these expeditions were very great, and threw light upon the geography of these Polar seas. Franklin's journey took him through 2048 miles, of which 610 was along unexplored coast. Where the extreme end of the Rocky Mountains abuts on the Polar seas, Franklin describes it as 'one of the most dreary, miserable, and uninviting portions of sea-coast that could be found.' The extreme point of Franklin's journey was Return Reef, lat. 70° 24′ N., long. 149 W., and he only missed meeting the Beechey explorers by 160 miles. Richardson explored from Point Separation to the Coppermine River, a distance of 902 miles. His voyage altogether was 1988 miles.

(15) In 1833–4, Back, starting from Fort Reliance on the eastern arm of the Great Slave Lake, discovered and descended the Fish or Back River, to its mouth in latitude 67° 11′N. and longitude 94° 30′, about thirty-seven miles more south than the mouth of the Coppermine River, and nineteen miles more south than that of Back's River, at the lower extremity of Bathurst's Inlet. In 1837–39 Dease and Simpson, two officers of the Hudson's Bay Company, surveyed the western part of the coast left by Franklin in 1826, from his Return Reef to Cape Barrow, and on the east from Point Turnagain, north of Bathurst's Inlet, to the Castor and Pollux River, long. 94° W., a part of the coast unexplored by Back[1].

[1] See Appendix xi.

The result was that the northern shores of the Polar Sea from the Boothia Peninsula to Icy Cape, i. e. from longitude 94° W. to longitude 165° W., were fairly well known.

(16) On the north and east, the task of exploration was grappled with by many other brave sailors whose names are a household word. In 1819 Parry entered Lancaster Sound, and in 1821–3 coasted along the eastern shores of Melville Peninsula, wintering at Winter Island on the Arctic Circle, and at Iglookik on its north-east extremity. In 1824–5 the same explorer was in Prince Regent's Inlet. The expedition of the Hudson's Bay Company under Rae in 1846–7, by sledge journeys of more than 1200 miles, united the surveys of Ross on Boothia with those of Parry at Fury and Hecla Strait. His expedition is described as 'a fine example of how much may be accomplished with very limited means.' Rae passed the winter of 1846–7 in Repulse Bay, selecting a sheltered site, and building a small hut. He was a most persevering Arctic explorer, inured to hardship, and a first-rate sportsman. He kept his party supplied with venison and fish, his sporting book for September alone showing a total of 63 deer, 5 hares, 172 partridges, and 116 salmon and trout. In his long sledge journeys he adopted the Eskimo custom of building a snow-hut as a refuge every night, thus saving the encumbrance of a tent, a great economy in Arctic travelling. In 1848 Rae accompanied Richardson in his search for Franklin, from the Mackenzie to the Coppermine River. In 1851, by desire of the Government he searched thoroughly the southern shores of Wollaston and Victoria Lands, tracing about 700 miles of previously unexplored coast. In 1853 he named and explored the Quoich River for 200 miles. By a long sledge journey in 1854, he united the survey of Dease and Simpson with that of Sir James Ross west

of Boothia, a new survey of about 400 miles, proving also that King William's Land was an island. He likewise brought home the first authentic intelligence of the fate of Franklin's expedition.

(17) When Manitoba was created a Province in 1870, and the Dominion Government proceeded to take possession of the North-West Territory, a rebellion of half-breeds took place under Lepine and Louis Riel. The latter formed a provisional government, and proceeded to banish people and confiscate property. The height of his offence, however, was to put to death, after a drum-head court martial, Thomas Scott, a Canadian militia officer. The excitement throughout the Dominion, especially in the Province of Ontario, was very great. Colonel Garnet Wolseley was sent to put down the rising, at the head of 1200 men, regulars and volunteers, and proceeded by way of the great lakes to Fort William on Thunder Bay, and thence by a canoe route of nearly 500 miles along lakes, streams, and portages. On their arrival at Winnipeg, Riel and his associates fled hurriedly to the valleys of the Assiniboine River. The rebellion might possibly have been checked at first if a score or so of resolute men had held Fort Garry. The chief difficulty of the expedition lay in providing commissariat along the then inaccessible and desolate regions. The leaders of the rebellion were punished, Lepine banished from the Dominion, and Riel declared an outlaw. The latter, however, was elected in 1874 to the Canadian House of Commons by the constituency of Provencher in Manitoba, though as a fugitive from justice he was excluded from his seat. His subsequent fate is well known. In 1885, he again headed a rebellion in the distant valleys of the Saskatchewan, inducing a Cree chief named Big Bear and others to join him, but he was captured, and after being imprisoned suffered the extreme penalty of the law.

(18) The causes of the first Riel rebellion are not hard to understand. When the North-West and Manitoba changed hands and came under the rule of the Dominion, the settlers around the Red River thought that their wishes had not been sufficiently considered in the transfer, and they objected 'to be the colony of a colony.' The population at the time was about 12,000, consisting of 2000 pure whites, English-speaking Protestants; 5000 English half-breeds, Protestants; 5000 French half-breeds, Catholics. But there were other causes which contributed to the confusion and dissatisfaction of the time. 'First must be named differences of race, dividing the little community with natural rivalries; next, the difference of religion; then must be considered the separate interests of the powerful Hudson's Bay Company . . . then the divergent interest of a number of energetic American residents, and their sympathisers within and without the settlement, who covertly or openly avowed a policy of annexation to the United States. Add still the influences of a restless Fenian party, whose aim was to establish a separate Republic. It was no secret that the Government at Ottawa were themselves divided as to the policy to be adopted in Manitoba. The Quebec party were naturally for increasing their own influence, perpetuating the Catholic religion and strengthening the French interests in the new country. The Ontario party were equally determined to prevent the growth of a second Quebec in the Dominion, and set themselves in unreasoning haste to secure Protestant and English ascendancy. Here there were rivalries of race and of creed: Orangeism, Ultramontanism, Red Republicanism, Monopolies, Fenianism, Spread-eagling and Annexation, and, not least active, Ishmaelism, the natural sentiment of the country[1].' Since the rebellion the country has been settled from all

[1] Marshall's Canadian Dominion, p. 171.

quarters, and the germs of disaffection long since destroyed.

(19) There have been two immigrations to it of a peculiar and exceptional character—that of the Russian Mennonites in 1871–2, and that of the Icelanders, who have settled on or near their present Reserve of Gimli, and number nearly 10,000 in this Province. The Mennonites are German Protestants, who reject infant baptism, and refuse to bear arms or take an oath of allegiance. In these respects they resemble the Quakers. The military condition of Prussia, their native land, would not allow of their residence there, and so they sought and gained an asylum near the Sea of Azoff under the Russian Government. In 1871, however, they had to choose whether they would submit to the conscription or leave the country, and they chose the latter alternative. Some settled in Nebraska and Kansas, in the United States, others went to Brazil. Most of them finally came to Canada, and occupied two settlements, one on the east, and the other on the west of the Red River. They are a thrifty and economical community, numbering about 9000, and make very good colonists. All work with their hands, and when farm-work has to be done, every man, woman, and child, irrespective of rank and station, has to help. They are well educated, and keep together as closely as a Scotch clan. The Mennonites occupy twenty-five districts or reserves, embracing 512,000 acres, of which 300,000 are in cultivation. Niverville is their largest settlement.

(20) In this Province, as in the North-West generally, there is an historical period which may be termed the Railway Period. The Canadians themselves have built within a comparatively few years 13,000 miles of railway, at a cost of over £17,000,000 of public money. In 1844, there were only fourteen miles of railway in the country.

RAILWAY MAP
OF
CANADA
WITH DISTANCES.
English Miles
Railways Open
The figures attributed to the Lines
Lands Mineral Resources from Reserved.
Population
Shipping Statistics.
Pop.
Ontario
Quebec
Manitoba
Winnipeg
Arctic Ocean
Parry Islands
Prince of Wales Land
Devon
Baffin Bay
Greenland
Davis Strait
Barrow Strait
Fox Channel
Hudson Strait
Hudson Bay
Labrador
Gulf of St Lawrence
Atlantic Ocean
Pacific Ocean
British Columbia
Vancouver Island
Victoria
Nanaimo
Esquimalt
Alaska
Yukon
Mackenzie
Athabasca
Saskatchewan
Assiniboia
Alberta
Manitoba
Ontario
Quebec
Lake Superior
Lake Huron
Lake Michigan
Lake Erie
Lake Ontario
Lake Winnipeg
Lake Athabasca
Great Slave Lake
Great Bear Lake
Lake Manitoba
Lake of the Woods
Rainy River
Red River
Saskatchewan R.
Peace River
Mackenzie R.
Yukon R.
Fraser R.
Columbia R.
Thompson R.
Ottawa R.
St Lawrence R.
Niagara R.
Niagara Falls
Detroit R.
St Clair R.
St Clair Flats
Lake St Clair
Lake Simcoe
Georgian Bay
Bay of Quinte
Lake Champlain
Lake Memphremagog
Lake Temiscouata
Lake Timiskaming
Lake Nipissing
Lake Abitibi
Lake Mistassini
Lake St John
Lake Kenogami
Lake Megantic

In Manitoba the result of railway construction has been first and foremost to fill the country, and to bring Winnipeg into the line of communication with British Columbia on the west, and the River and Maritime Provinces on the east. In no part of the British Empire is the process of filling up and developing the resources of a country going on so quickly as in Manitoba and the neighbouring divisions of the North-West. In Manitoba itself the railways are now being extended in many directions both towards the north and west, and also towards the United States frontier. From its geographical position, the Province would seem to be well placed as a distributing centre. The flat treeless prairies seem exactly fitted for rails, which can be laid down with almost marvellous celerity. Macadamised roads are difficult to keep up in a land where the virgin soil is so many feet deep, and in the wet weather the deep greasy ruts and mud holes along this track have long tried the patience of the pioneer and traveller, and made locomotion of heavy goods almost impossible.

(21) To the north of the Canadian Pacific Railway another line is being contemplated, which will link the North-West Territories with the shores of Hudson's Bay. This route is well known, as it was used by the Hudson's Bay Company for 200 years. The Nelson River connects Lake Winnipeg and Hudson's Bay, and everywhere there are an infinite number of lakes and streams along which, by means of 'portages,' communication could be carried on over thousands of miles of country. The distance from Lake Winnipeg to Hudson's Bay is 370 miles. The objection to this route is that Hudson's Bay is closed by ice for seven months of the year. But a railway could be of great service in transferring Canadian produce to the shores of this great inland sea during the prevalence of the frosts, and storing it either at Port Nelson

or Fort Churchill in readiness for transportation. The distance from Port Nelson to Liverpool is 100 miles less than that from Liverpool to New York. The water-ways of the Far West are here unrivalled. The navigable rivers are calculated to cover a distance of 11,000 miles, of which only 4000 have been utilised.

(22) It has been recently pointed out that a system of artificial canals can wonderfully enhance the value of the lakes and rivers of the North-West as water-ways. At present a steamboat can ply from Winnipeg to Edmonton, almost to the foot of the Rocky Mountains, a distance of more than a thousand miles. 'The great river and lake system of North America follows a semicircular course from the mouth of the St. Lawrence to the mouth of the Mackenzie River, between 3000 and 4000 miles in length. The parting of the waters is near the Yellowhead Pass of the Rocky Mountains; the one huge volume of water finding its way into the Arctic Ocean by the Mackenzie River, and the other into the Atlantic by Hudson's Bay and the river St. Lawrence respectively. The whole of this enormous stretch of water-way, longer than the continent is broad at its broadest part, can be made navigable, except for a distance of some 70 miles between the head-waters of the Upper Saskatchewan and the head-waters of the Athabasca. Over this portage a wagon road has been or is about to be constructed, and as steamers of a shallow draft already ply on the Saskatchewan from Lake Winnipeg to the portage in question, it will be quite possible to place steamers on the rivers and lakes of what is called the Great Mackenzie Basin without sending them round by Behring's Sea[1].'

[1] See Appendix xii.

CHAPTER XXIII.

British Columbia.

(1) When the grant of a considerable part of a continent was given to the great Hudson's Bay Company, little notice was taken of natural boundaries. Royal patrons were prodigal of what was out of sight, and signed away vast kingdoms in their patents and charters. The British merchants, whether in Far East or Far North, in India or in America, have repaid the Royal prodigality with good sense and sound administration, upon the whole. Without being in appearance an invading host, they have, nevertheless, achieved the material results of an army of occupation. Invariably they have been the forerunners of Imperial rule. At first the Hudson's Bay monopolists were in supreme ignorance of the geography of their possessions. They did not even know of the Rocky Mountains which bisected their domain unevenly. Beyond the great rolling plains and prairies of the centre of the continent, the solemn and isolated peaks raised their lofty crests covered with eternal snow. These peaks and the mountain range appeared to interpose a formidable and almost insuperable barrier to explorers and traders from the eastern prairie. Here and there the hardy pioneers crossed the range either through one of the Southern Kootenay Passes or further north at the Crow's Nest, and still further north at Kicking Horse or Vermilion Pass, or by the Yellowhead Pass, or by the way of the Peace River running through a gap in the Rocky Mountains. When the Pacific slope is reached, the traveller will be disappointed if he pictures plains and valleys such as greeted Hannibal's eyes when he crossed the Alps and looked

down upon the plains of Lombardy. The Pacific slope is in reality a series of plateaux, or natural terraces, descending to the water's edge with broken and escarped sides.

(2) British Columbia has been described as a sea of mountains. It is so in all soberness, apart altogether from poetic exaggeration. 'From the Rocky Mountains, which form its eastern boundary, to the coast, there is nothing which can be called a plain or prairie. Over range after range, in continuous succession, the iron horse plunges and climbs on his way to the sea. And these ranges are torn and cleft by thousands of creeks rushing down to swell the magnificence of the two great water-courses of the country, the Fraser and the Columbia[1].' Here is a vast country abounding in every kind of mineral wealth. When its valleys are more carefully worked, gold and silver may be discovered in even greater quantities than hitherto—the formation of the rocks being similar to that further south in Colorado, California, and Nevada, where the yield from 1870 to 1886 was—gold, £123,400,000; silver, £116,400,000. Along its shores, which are broken up into interminable bays and inlets, some of the finest fisheries in the world exist, and in the valleys of the northern rivers is abundance of room for countless flocks and herds of cattle. Over a great part of its surface vast forests of trees extend, which are of incalculable wealth and provide occupation for the wood-cutters and lumberers. In Vancouver Island coal is produced at 16*s.* a ton at the pit's mouth, of such excellent quality that the United States Government, although they possess mines of their own on Puget Sound, procure their supply from British Columbia.

(3) Within comparatively recent times this magnificent

[1] See Proceedings of Royal Colonial Insitute, vol. xviii., Bishop Sillitoe's Paper.

province of the British Empire has been brought into direct communication with the rest of the world, both east and west, by means of railways and steamers. Janus-like it looks both ways, and sees on either side a boundless prospect of development. Its capital must ultimately become, like San Francisco, a great Pacific city trading with the wealthy East. Even now, large supplies of tea are shipped to the North American continent by British Columbia in preference to other routes. The vast prairies of the North-West and the spreading valleys of the Peace and Athabasca rivers, nay, even the Mackenzie river, may, in course of time, look upon British Columbian sea-ports as their natural harbours. And these vast grain-growing provinces may be filled with a large and ever-increasing population. Nor will the wealth of the Indies find its way over the Rocky Mountains by one route only. The shortest North-West passage will be probably constructed by way of the Yellowhead Pass along the Fraser Valley and northward to Portland Inlet, thence to Japan and the East, north of Charlotte Island. The climate of British Columbia and the Pacific sea-board, being tempered by sea breezes from the Pacific, admits of ocean communication being carried on at a far higher latitude than on the Atlantic side of North America. Hudson's Bay is blocked by ice for seven or eight months of the year. In Victoria, the capital of Vancouver, the temperature rarely falls below forty degrees Fah., and from March to November it is like a perpetual spring-time. Houses are built with large open windows and verandahs, and the gardens flourish with semi-tropical vegetation.

(4) Here is a description of the run by steamer from the mainland and Burrard Inlet to Victoria:—'We pass out of Burrard Inlet and the grey mountains of Vancouver Island are seen rising in front of us, and the

prow turns southward through the Strait of Georgia. As we steam along, these bold shores rise prominently on the right hand, while to the left are the great forest-covered mountain ranges of the British Columbian coast, running down to the water's edge, and having between them an extensive series of deeply indented inlets and sounds. Behind them are the still higher peaks of the Cascade Range, stretching northward as far as eye can see. But to the southward the land gradually falls away to the level at the delta caused by the double out-fall of the Fraser River and the low but fertile islands it encloses. To the south-east is seen the magnificent peak of Mount Baker, in the States, just below the boundary, rising far away, a perfect gem of a mountain, entirely covered with snow, upon which the western sun shines brightly. The fertile delta of the Fraser River, to which I have above referred, is a region of great agricultural richness, capable of sustaining a much larger population than now occupies the land. The yield of fruits and vegetables is prodigious, and there is steadily poured upon it the rich soils scoured out by thousands of miles of mountain torrents. . . . Having passed this rich delta the steamer sets over towards Vancouver Island, and is soon threading a maze of smaller islands of all shapes and sizes with the most beautiful channels between them. They generally have high rocky shores and are covered with trees, settlers are few, there being an occasional cabin of an Indian, or an eccentric white man who prefers solitude, broken only by the company of a few sheep. We thread this maze for miles, and finally get between the archipelago and the Vancouver shore which rises as a dark grey threatening mountain ridge, tapering off as the southern end is approached.' The city of Victoria, which numbers about 12,000 inhabitants, is in many respects an American

town. United States money is the universal currency, and the types of character found there resemble those of San Francisco, and are, if anything, more diversified; amongst them all the Chinese are, perhaps, the most conspicuous.

(5) The history of British Columbia is of a comparatively recent date. George Vancouver, who had served as a midshipman under Captain Cook in his Pacific voyages, was the chief explorer of the coast-line. He went thither in 1792 to receive from the Spaniards the surrender of their possessions near Nootka Sound. Afterwards, he spent several years in exploring the intricate channels along the coast for 2000 miles, from 30° north latitude to the Russian possessions. But there were little practical results from these discoveries. The island, called Vancouver after the explorer, and the multitudes of smaller islands remained in their pristine solitudes, and were the hunting-ground of the great Fur Company of the North-West. In 1871–2 the rocky island of San Juan, which lies to the eastward of the lower end of Vancouver, came into notoriety as a disputed possession between England and the United States. The island was used as a sheep pasture by the Hudson's Bay Company, and the herders kept a few pigs. An American came over from Oregon and set up an establishment on a point of the island called Hubb's Point. A pig belonging to one of the servants of the Company trespassed upon the American's garden and was shot by him. A dispute arising between the American and the Company, the latter threatened to eject him. But the American responded by asking for military protection from the adjacent territory of Oregon. Some American soldiers came over and claimed part of the island as American possession. Two British war vessels went over to shell them out, and matters looked threatening, but ultimately the dispute was referred to

the German Emperor, who decided in favour of the Americans and awarded the island to them[1]. This was the famous San Juan controversy, which is chiefly to be noticed because it was one of the few instances of an international dispute being referred to arbitration.

(6) Originally there had been two separate governments of Vancouver Island and the mainland, Victoria being the capital of the one, and New Westminster of the other. The Hudson's Bay Company had in 1846 selected Victoria as their port and capital. But in 1851 Sir James Douglas, the Governor of the Company, reported great discoveries of gold on the mainland, then called New Caledonia, around the Fraser River. In consequence of these finds, the British Government revoked an exclusive trade-licence which they had given to the Company and established regular government in both places, keeping Victoria as the official head-quarters. This state of things was found to be very inconvenient, and in 1866 the whole of the territory now known as the Province of British Columbia was united under one provincial government. The wisdom of this union was soon apparent, for no two territories lying together are more necessary to one another than Vancouver and the mainland. For some time there was a coquetting on the part of some of the inhabitants of Vancouver with the United States officials about the purchase or annexation of the island by the American Government. From its position, the country was frequently the resort of American speculators and adventurers, and the influence of San Francisco was and still is very strong. But the Canadian Government have proved themselves eager to preserve their line of communication from east to west, as the occupation of Vancouver by the Americans would have been a deadly blow to her future prosperity, and would have largely

[1] See Appendix xiii.

affected Imperial interests. In 1871 British Columbia threw in her lot with the Dominion, and stands now as the Pacific bulwark of British North America. When she was admitted to the Union she stipulated with the Dominion Government that they should undertake, within two years of the union, the construction simultaneously of the Canadian Pacific Railway from the east and also from the west, to be completed within ten years.

(7) The history, therefore, of British Columbia may for clearness' sake be divided into four periods: (1) That of the reign of the great Fur Trading Company, which obtained in 1838 a practical monopoly of all North America lying north and west of the United States. In 1849 the British Government granted them the Island of Vancouver with royalties in free-socage. (2) The Gold Period, when in consequence of the discovery of the mines along the Fraser Valley and the enormous influx of gold-diggers, the separation of the government of the mainland and the island was found necessary. This lasted from 1858–1866. (3) The Union Period, when these two governments were united—1866–1871. (4) The Dominion Period—1871—when Vancouver and British Columbia became one of the Confederating Provinces of the Canadian Dominion. A fifth period, which we may call the Railway Period, has brought about many and great social and economic changes. The history of the Canadian Pacific Railway deserves a separate notice. The idea of connecting the eastern and western provinces by means of a railway over the Rocky Mountains was conceived many years ago.

(8) It was to be begun in 1873; but after some delay, caused by the vast difficulties of the undertaking and the conflict of interests involved, the railway was commenced in 1880 under contract to be finished in 1891. But, as a matter of fact, it was finished in

half the stipulated time, owing to the co-operation of the Government, the zeal of the engineers and workmen, and the favourable character of the ground along the prairies.

'I have taken great interest in the rapid completion of that undertaking,' said Mr. Stavely Hill, M.P., 'of which I have witnessed the advance across the prairie at the rate not only of a mile and a half in a day, but at such a pace that between the time that I sat down to eat my dinner and the end of a two hours' visit, I had to go back a mile and a half to pick up my waggon at the place where I had picketed my horse on my arrival.' It was in November, 1885, that Sir Donald Smith drove the last spike that finished the railway by connecting the two ends which had been working on towards one another from both oceans. The place was at a little station called Craigellackie, alongside of the Eagle River in the Rocky Mountains, 2569 miles west from Montreal. This was quietly done and modestly celebrated, Sir Donald Smith and his small company spending the day afterwards in fishing amongst the mountains.

(9) The greatest engineering difficulties were experienced at the western or British Columbian side. Across the prairies that stretch from Winnipeg eastward the ascent is very gradual. At Winnipeg the railway is 736 feet above the sea-level, at Calgary it is 3380. Thence it follows up the valley of the Bow River until it crosses the Rockies at an elevation of 5560. The distance from Calgary to the summit is 123 miles, in which distance the railway climbs 1900 feet. The descent on the other side is much steeper, and in the 61 miles between the summit of Calgary the railway falls 2778 feet. Along the Kicking Horse River the route is constructed in a cañon of great depth and steepness. Here the scenery is wonderfully wild and beautiful, and the road is often led high above

some perilous abyss with mountain tops rising thousands of feet above and a raging torrent beneath. For 600 miles the line runs through mountainous country, and it is not until Yale is reached that level country can be said to be touched. After the main ridges of the Rockies the subsidiary eminences of the Selkirks and of the Coast Range have to be crossed. The greatest mountain of the Selkirk Range rises to the height of 11,000 feet above the sea, and is called Mount Sir Donald. Near it is a great glacier which forms the head-waters of the Illecillewaet River, and along the neighbouring cañons and defiles the engineers have met with the greatest obstacles. 'The line by repeated double loops runs for six miles, descends 600 feet, and accomplishes just two miles of actual distance. Here is an achievement of engineering that it took a railway genius to conceive and successfully execute. First the line runs southward along the side of the gorge towards the glacier, then it crosses a high bridge and curves back on the other side, coming out near where it started, only at a lower level. Next it curves round into the second ravine, swings across it, and comes back again at 120 feet lower level, yet only 130 feet further down the pass. Then it doubles upon itself and crosses the river, immediately recrossing again. Here are six almost parallel lines of railway in full view, each at a lower stage and each made up largely of huge trestle bridges. These are the loops of the Canadian Pacific, whose fame as a railway feat has gone abroad; and when we look down at them from the top of the strange construction, it looks as if the railway was being twisted into the bottom of a great abyss[1].'

(10) By this railway British Columbia, although 6000 miles distant from London, can be reached in fourteen days, whereas recently it could only be ap-

[1] See the London Times Correspondent, September, 1886.

proached by San Francisco, or Panama, or round the stormy Cape Horn. For a sailing vessel, this last route would mean a voyage of several months. For the Province itself the immediate advantage is that it is put into direct communication with the markets of Eastern Canada and the great North-West Territories. But this is only a small part of the advantages given by this railway. The ports of Vancouver and British Columbia are no longer the ends of a blind alley, as it were, but they have become important links in a chain of communication linking East and West. From an Imperial point of view the railway gives an alternative route to the East. Estimating Vancouver City, the Pacific terminus of the Canadian Pacific Railway, at fourteen days' distance from Liverpool, then Japan will be within twenty-four or twenty-five days of Liverpool, Hong-kong thirty to thirty-one, Australia thirty-one to thirty-two, Calcutta thirty-seven to thirty-eight. There is every reason to believe that the Pacific steamers will increase their rate of speed and reduce the above estimate of days. As a military road, it would be of the greatest service in case the Suez Canal route broke down, and 'as if to bear immediate testimony to the value of this trans-continental railway as a military line, the first loaded train that passed over its entire distance from east to west was freighted with stone from the War Department, transferred from Quebec to Vancouver.' Moreover, as an entrepôt for naval and military stores British Columbia holds forth unrivalled advantages. The line connects the sea-ports with the ranches of Alberta and the corn-fields of Manitoba, from which unlimited stores could be procured at short notice. The broken sea-coast also presents favourable natural conditions for rearing a race of seamen and fishermen who, like their brethren of Newfoundland and Nova Scotia on the east.

would reproduce the virtues and valour of their British ancestors.

(11) To the traveller and sportsman a new world of wonders has been opened up, full of enchanting heights and noble Alpine scenery. 'Within the boundary of the Rocky Mountains are hills and lakes, waterfalls and fishing places, that have never been seen since the world began: your Indian has never dared to wander so far from the trail into those mountains; but let your exploring holiday-party get there about August 20, when the mosquito and the bull-fly have been killed by the frost, and they will enjoy a bright sun, the clear dry air, the glorious mountain scenery, and the sport to be found there; and I believe that on account of these attractions, no less than for others, they will find British Columbia a place to be sought after, not for its gold or silver or iron, not even for that mica, which is so useful to us in our telegraphic work, but also as a place where to spend most pleasantly that which will ever remain so dear to us—our long vacation holiday.' Another attraction on the line of this railway is the Government Park at Banff, where hot medicinal springs are found. Invalids here will reap benefit both from the healing waters and the pure air of the mountains.

(12) The whole length of the Dominion railway from Montreal to Vancouver is 2909 miles, or 362 miles less than the United States railway from New York to San Francisco. From Liverpool to Vancouver by the Canadian Pacific route is 5160 miles, while from Liverpool viâ New York to San Francisco by the Union and Central Pacific Railways it is 5880 miles, the Canadian route being shorter by 720 miles. The Canadian Government, to get this magnificent railway quickly finished, gave $25,000,000 (£5,000,000) as a cash subsidy, and in order to attract the flow of immigration, handed over

25,000,000 acres of land along the route west of Winnipeg to the Rockies, as successive short sections of the line were completed. In addition to this, 712 miles of completed railway were thrown in, and the Company was granted a twenty years' monopoly of the territory between its lines and the United States.

(13) In making a railway journey of 3000 miles from Montreal to New Westminster, the traveller passes through diversified scenery and widely differing tracts of country. From Montreal to Lake Nipissing, a distance of 350 miles, the line runs through an old and comparatively well-developed country, and commands the immense timber traffic of the Ottawa River Valley. The next 1000 miles reaches the centre of the North American Continent, and brings the traveller to the edge of the western prairies at Winnipeg. Along this section the country is only partially developed. For 900 miles west of Winnipeg, lies one of the most fertile tracts of country in the world, the rich soil extending almost as far as the Rockies, where the country changes gradually from an agricultural to a pastoral character. Thence for from 600 to 700 miles the railway climbs through the mountain scenery of the Rockies, Selkirks, and Cascades, where there is little attempt at agriculture, until Kamloops and the Lower Fraser River Valley are reached.

(14) The Province of British Columbia, therefore, possesses many and great advantages. Its wealth in forests, minerals, and fisheries is surpassed by no other Province, and there is abundance of room for development. In Vancouver Island alone there are fully 2,000,000 acres of land available for general agricultural purposes. In the districts of Kamloops, Lilloet and Kootenay, there is also a considerable quantity; whilst in the northern districts of Cariboo and Chilcotin there are about 50,000,000

fertile, untilled acres, a realm in itself, extending up into the Peace River district. As an exporting country, British Columbia exports about £9 or £10 a head, whilst the Provinces of Ontario export only £5, and Manitoba only £3[1]. It is the most thinly populated of all the Provinces, as there are only 80,000 inhabitants on an area of 350,000 square miles, and so the room for development in this England of the Pacific is unlimited.

CHAPTER XXIV.

The Canadian Dominion and the United States.

(1) In the Canadian Dominion, as in the United States, the process of the absorption of many races from Europe so as to produce one nation and a distinctive ethnological type is going on rapidly, especially in the Far West. It will have been noticed that well-marked nationalities, e. g. the French in Lower Canada, the Scots in Ontario, the German Mennonites and Icelanders have a tendency to dwell apart; but more complete fusion always comes about in the end, and the grandchildren of German, Scandinavian or Highland settlers are proud of being Canadians. The immigrants are year by year adding fresh blood, and in certain parts of the country form mixed settlements. Occasionally there is a drift of French Canadians to New England, and of Ontario Protestants into the adjoining 'States,' whilst in the West

[1] See Proceedings of Royal Colonial Institute, vol. xviii, British Columbia.

there is a tendency of United States ranchers to migrate up from Washington and Montana to Alberta and Athabasca, where there is more abundant pasture and the winters are less severe. Upon the whole, however, it is probable that the flow backwards and forwards across the International Boundary does not materially affect either the Republic or the Dominion. If the French Canadians, for example, cross over into the States of Maine, Vermont, and New York in large numbers, attracted by the higher scale of wages, they return in due course of time to the land of their birth. It is reasonable to suppose that in the future the division between the two countries will follow the natural one, which is on a divide sloping one way to the Arctic Regions, the other way to the Tropics. Out of the 3,470,257 square miles of the area of Canada, 3,000,000 are said to have a northern slope.

(2) There is another difference destined to influence the future of the two countries north and south of latitude 45°. The wheat lands of the Dominion show an average yield of twenty bushels per acre, those of the United States not more than nine or ten. Even in Ontario, where the ground is said to be partly exhausted, the yield averages about nineteen bushels. The prairie soils of Manitoba averaged in 1887 thirty bushels of wheat to the acre, thirty-six of barley, and fifty of oats. The valley of the Saskatchewan alone is capable of containing easily a population of thirty millions. Wheat ripens best at a certain summer temperature (60°–65°) which is found north of latitude 45°. This is an advantage which is inherent in the country, and makes the Prairie Provinces the granary of the continent.

(3) Some idea of the admixture of nationalities in the Western Provinces may be gathered from the arrivals at the port of Quebec.

Nationalities.	1882.	1883.	1887.	1888.
English	20,881	21,897	16,034	13,211
Irish	8,195	12,095	3,128	1,809
Scots	4,617	3,980	3,094	3,752
Germans	1,024	1,434	576	403
Scandinavians	8,279	4,763	7,659	8,038
French and Belgian	50	306	147	255
Icelanders	129	1,413	1,766	686
Russians[1]	270	56	234	169

From this table[2] it may be gathered that the northern types strongly prevail, as might be expected in such a congenial country as British North America. The admixture of these Northern Celt and Teuton immigrants must produce a strong nation, and judging from the effect of climate upon race, it is reasonable to suppose that north of latitude 45 a nation will arise, with character and lineaments distinct from those of the Texas, California, Carolina and Montana ranchers and settlers. The valley of the Mississippi is producing one breed of men, the valleys of the St. Lawrence and Saskatchewan will produce another. Since July, 1776, the history of the British and other colonists in the continent of North America has parted into two separate channels.

(4) Will they ever become one again? Or will there be a second Declaration of Independence on the part of British colonists in North America, and a new political power arise in Canada differing both from England and the United States? There are three alternatives before the Canadian people: (1) Incorporation with the neighbouring Republic; (2) Independent existence; (3) continued political partnership with Great Britain and the other Colonies. All those who love and honour the

[1] See British Association in Canada, Proceedings of Royal Colonial Institute, vol. xvi, 1884–5.

[2] See Mr. H. F. Moore's paper, 'Canadian Lands and their Development,' 1888–9, Proceedings Royal Colonial Institute.

British name and British influence must desire the last consummation of Canadian destinies. It may be assumed that the United States are satisfied with their magnificent boundaries and their assured position amongst the nations of the world. The introduction of the Canadian factor would alter and disturb existing political conditions, and there is no real call or clamour for it. The Monroe doctrine, by which the unquestioned predominance of the United States is claimed in North America, cannot apply to the Dominion, and is not imperilled by the peaceful political partnership of the Dominion with Great Britain. The lesson which American Republicans desire to teach the world is not one of Napoleonic and Imperial aggression.

(5) Now and then there have been serious causes of friction between the two countries. During the American Civil War (1861–1865), Captain Wilkes of the United States war-vessel Jacinto, took by force the Confederate Commissioners Mason and Slidell from the British mail steamer Trent, plying between Vera Cruz and Southampton, in defiance of the law of nations and the rights of neutrals; but after negotiation, the commissioners were surrendered and the danger passed away. Up to this point there had been a strong sympathy on the part of Canadians with the United States, but the Trent difficulty and the boastful attitude of the more unscrupulous American papers turned much of this sympathy into dislike. There was an expectation of war throughout the whole country, and volunteer forces sprang into existence. Steamship after steamship came from the mother-country laden with arms and ammunition. In other ways the civil war benefited Canada. Farm stock rose to an abnormally high price, and horses were in great demand as remounts for the United States cavalry and artillery. The conscription which, as the

war went on, was relentlessly enforced in the United States, forced a number of refugees across the border. Some of them procured Canadians to take their places, and throughout the war it is calculated that 50,000 Canadians joined the armies of the North. In September, 1863, an incident occurred on Lake Erie which threatened to disturb the peaceful relations of the countries. Two American steam-boats, the Philo Parsons and Island Queen, were seized by Confederate desperadoes, starting from Canada with a view of releasing some Southern prisoners on Johnson's Island and of destroying the Lake shipping; and in October a body of twenty-three Southern refugees made a raid on the little Vermont town of St. Albans, close to the Canadian frontier, shot an American citizen, and robbed the banks of £46,600, and then retreated into Canada. These raiders were brought up before Judge Coursol of Montreal in December, 1863, but they were discharged and allowed to retain £18,000 stolen money. There was more friction now, perhaps, than at any previous time, and a great outlay was incurred for the purpose of keeping order on the frontier. But the war was destined speedily to come to an end. The death-struggle was to terminate shortly, and the slave confederacy of the South was doomed. The War of Secession ended in 1865 by the utter prostration of the Southerners.

(6) In 1866 the Reciprocity Treaty between the United States and Canada came to an end. Under its provisions international commerce had swollen to the sum of £14,000,000 a year. Its termination caused great disturbance of trade, and the United States became the chief sufferers. Their woollen and worsted manufacturers missed the long staple from Canada, and the brewers of New York and Pennsylvania missed Canadian barley. American politicians were puzzled at this result. They

had believed that Canada could not survive the loss of the Reciprocity Treaty, and would at once clamour to be admitted within the Union. Instead of that, her prosperity was scarcely interrupted; on the contrary, she was soon opening up new markets, becoming a rival and competitor with the tariff-clogged States.

(7) During the spring of 1866 there were rumours of an invasion of the Dominion by a body of Irish Republicans, who were a numerous body in the States and eager to strike a blow for the independence of their native country, and on June 1 a body of 1200 Fenians crossed the border from Black Rock near Buffalo, and took possession of the ruins of Fort Erie and the Railway Depôt. They were led by an American officer, General O'Neill. After a few brief skirmishes, they were driven across the frontier by the Canadian Volunteers. The expenses connected with this raid were regarded by the Canadians as a fair claim upon the United States Government, who ought to have exercised stricter surveillance upon their borders in the interests of a friendly nation. Representations were made at Washington by the British Minister, who could not shut his eyes to the fact that war was being made on a friendly country by armed citizens of the United States. A proclamation was issued by the President calling upon the Fenians to disperse.

(8) But these irritating differences between the United States on the one hand, and Canada and Great Britain on the other, were to be composed in 1871 by the well-known Washington Treaty. By the terms of this Treaty four separate difficulties were adjusted between the two countries. The *first* related to the ownership of the island of San Juan; the *second* difficulty concerned the boundary line between the extreme north-west of the Dominion and Alaska, the country which had recently been bought by the United States from Russia; the

third difficulty was on the subject of the Fisheries, and now an arrangement was made which was to remain in force for twelve years. It provided that (with the exception of British Columbia) fish and fish-oil should be admitted into either country free of duty; and that the subjects of either country should have the privilege of fishing in the coast-waters of the other. As the fisheries of British America were more valuable, it was agreed that the United States should pay such make-weight in money as should be fixed by a Commission to be appointed for the purpose. Americans were permitted to use the canals of Canada on the same terms as British subjects, and to float their timber down the St. John River, and Canadians were allowed to navigate the St. Clair Canal and Lake Michigan. In 1878 the Commission sat, and awarded Canada £1,100,000 as compensation due from the United States on this head. The *fourth* difficulty arose out of certain money claims made on both sides, Canadians asking for compensation for depredations done by the Fenian raids, and the Americans demanding that England should pay for the damage done to her trade by the celebrated confederate privateer Alabama. At the request of the British Government, the claims of Canada on account of the Fenian losses were not brought before the Commission. The Alabama claims were referred to arbitration; and the arbitrators, who met at Geneva in Switzerland in 1872, awarded the United States £5,100,000, which was promptly paid by the British Government.

RECAPITULATION.

(9) The history of the Canadian Dominion has been traced, in brief outline, from its earliest beginnings to the present day. Little by little a vast and noble country has been won from savagery by the indomitable energies of the French and English. The early tasks of exploration were chiefly accomplished by the French voyageurs and travellers Champlain, La Salle, Marquette, and others. But the British eventually won the continent from France by the help of English colonists and through command of the sea. Two small fishing islands, Miquelon and St. Pierre, where the French fishing fleet cure their fish and recruit their sailors, are the sole remains of that vast Transatlantic Empire of which the French kings and cardinals dreamed. There is truth in Chateaubriand's regret: 'We possessed here vast territories which might have afforded a home to the excess of our population, an important market to our commerce, a nursery to our navy . . . We are excluded from the New World, where the human race is recommencing. The English and Spanish languages serve to express the thoughts of many millions of men in Africa, in Asia, in the South Sea Islands, on the Continent of the two Americas; and we, disinherited of the conquests of our courage and our genius, hear the language of Racine, of Colbert, and of Louis XIV . . . spoken under a foreign sway. There it remains, as it were, for an evidence of the reverses of our fortune and the errors of our policy[1].' The history of Canada is interesting, because the great struggles in Europe were reproduced in the New World and the old questions fought out again. In North America Cavaliers and Roundheads, Prelatists and Presbyterians find homes according to the exigencies of the case. Rupert's Land

[1] Travels in America, vol. ii.

bears the name of the gallant Cavalier who thought to recruit his shattered fleet amongst the hardy fishermen and sailors of Nova Scotia and Newfoundland. Charles I, in 1625, created an order of knighthood styled the Knights Baronets of Nova Scotia, consisting of one hundred and fifty knights whose duty it was to colonise the New Scotland. Cromwell's hand was visible in the New World when he sent Colonel Sedgwick to capture Port Royal in Nova Scotia from the French under Le Borgne, because the Puritans of the New World had become dissatisfied with the cession of Nova Scotia to France in 1632 by the Treaty of St. Germain-en-Laye. In Queen Anne's reign the Marlborough veterans came fresh from Blenheim and Malplaquet to fight the French anew in a Transatlantic Province. Around Newfoundland, up Fundy Bay and along the banks of the St. Lawrence, the struggle for supremacy was as keen as it had been in the Netherlands. The prizes were great—the St. Lawrence the key to the New World, Newfoundland the sentinel island which guarded the main approach, Port Royal the Dunkirk of North America. The thought of North America and her future acted powerfully upon the imagination of the European nations in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, long after the romance of first discovery had disappeared. The visible fruits of cultivation along the sea-board were showing themselves everywhere, and the rising power of New England, with its endless possibilities of expansion, appealed to all. Cardinal Richelieu, who bequeathed a kind of policy to others, regarded the new country as a grand appanage to the French Crown, providing a most wonderful field for missionary enterprise and evangelising zeal; but the notion of a freely-developing Colonial Empire, constructing its own fortunes, never occurred to any statesman of his day. The magnificent and high-

sounding charters of the Kings of France, dividing the whole country up into large fiefs to the nobility and clergy, prove this. Whether it was the seigneurs or the colonial officials mattered not; the rule of the parent country was just as strong and arbitrary in one case as in the other. In the eyes of Frenchmen, Spaniards, Portuguese, and even Dutch, there has been only one stereotyped ideal of colonial government up to the present day. The German system is of set purpose different from our own. In schemes of African or Pacific colonisation, Prince Bismarck disclaims the British model. The French Government still confuses convictism and colonisation in the New Hebrides, and seems to prefer conquest if possible in Madagascar and Tonquin to trade and peaceful settlement.

(10) At first sight, the British Empire seems a mere triumph of commerce and trade built up by privileged companies and individuals, and guaranteed by the maritime prowess of the mother-country. To the foreigner the result appears materialistic; but throughout it a vein of heroism, chivalry, and justice is distinctly visible. The good of the subject races, and the advance of Christianity and education, have frequently been real motives forming a strong moral justification of the material triumph. There have never been wanting men like General Codrington in the West Indies, Bishop Berkeley in New England, the forerunner of Bishops Selwyn and Patteson in the Pacific, and Bishops Gray, Steere and Hannington in South Africa, together with such men at home as Lawrence, Wilberforce, Clarkson, emancipators of the despised races of mankind, and scores of others who have awakened the moral consciousness of the nation and leavened the Empire. Such men are indeed the salt of the earth. The roll of gallant travellers and explorers,

amongst whom the illustrious David Livingstone is one of the greatest and most typical examples, throws additional light upon the origin and conception of our Empire. Last, and most recent of all, is the picture of Charles Gordon dying at his post at Khartoum, full of fidelity to his Christian faith, of patriotism to his country, and generosity to the native races. It is 'defensoribus istis' that the Empire will stand and be a monument to the world. To them empire meant not simply a strong government machinery or a centralised despotism for the benefit of British trade, but the physical and spiritual amelioration of subject races and the maintenance of a high national standard. Some have given their lives, and some their fortunes, to the realisation of such ideas. In 1710 General Codrington, a native of Barbados, bequeathed his property in the island as a private endowment to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel to found a college there[1]; and Bishop Berkeley a few years later, carrying on his plan, proposed to found a university at Barbados by a charter from the Crown, and actually collected a large sum of money for this purpose, and afterwards bequeathed an endowment to Yale College. Bishop Berkeley did not carry out his original intention in the Barbados, but lived for three years at Newport in Rhode Island in America, where he wrote a brilliant book called 'Alciphron' (1731), and forgot in philosophy his especial purpose at Barbados. But his influence and his enthusiasm at the subject of the New World were great and infectious. When great minds could approach the subject of a Colonial Empire with such wisdom and foresight the stigma and reproach against a colonial life were removed. As Bishop Berkeley himself wrote in his immortal lines, there might yet be room in the New World for

[1] See Appendix xiv.

'Another Golden Age,
The rise of Empire and of Arts.'

The poet Waller is said to have passed some months in Bermuda (1643) and described its loveliness, as did John Mitchell 200 years later; and Andrew Marvell celebrates the

'Isle so long unknown,
And yet far kinder than our own;
Safe from the storms, the Prelate's rage.'

But if these two poets celebrated the tiny islands of 'the still-vexed Bermoothes,' Bishop Berkeley drew attention to the future of a mighty continent, and pointed out in prophetic vision the outlines of that stately empire which was yet to arise. He may not have felt the full force of his words, but time has more than fulfilled them. His vision may have been the dream of an idealist, and hardly more substantial than that of Coleridge, Southey, and Lloyd, who wished to emigrate to the banks of the Susquehanna and found a small community on Socialistic principles; but it was a dream which it was good to have. Berkeley the idealist seems to have truly caught and interpreted one side of the British character, which, though often grasping and avaricious, has often been chivalrous and enthusiastic. England has often laid herself open to the charge of hypocrisy in her dealings with native races, and in her efforts at their conversion and amelioration, but oftener still she has been sincere and heroic. Some ideal like that of Berkeley's 'Transatlantic ideal' has been before her, and she has worked upon those lines in a blundering, awkward, but still righteous fashion.

(11) The evangelising spirit of Bishop Berkeley and of the nation was confined to North America in those days, but it has a wider range now in India, Africa, and the East. The work of the S.P.G. from 1700–1888 is perhaps

the best testimony of this spirit. Unless the character of an Imperial race is tinged with a certain amount of heroism and chivalry and religious enthusiasm, it will not long continue to be Imperial. Bishop Berkeley's ideal was—at least so we may conclude—that a kingdom across the seas should be a real reproduction of a national life in every respect. The very fact of this great thinker changing his residence from England to America was a significant one. Europe, in the future, was not to have the monopoly of the world's stores of thought and intellect. His was a practical application of the line 'Caelum non animum mutant, qui trans mare currunt.' The equality of a colonial life was asserted by such enthusiasts as Berkeley as a real definite fact. The progeny of the daughter colonies was to be in all respects, whether in government or religion, equal and not inferior to that of the mother-country. Speaking of the Virginian settlements, Sir Walter Raleigh said: 'They will grow into a nation,' calling up in that very word 'nation,' used also by his friend Shakespere, a most important chain of ideas, differing entirely from those connected with 'dependency.' Throughout all political changes there has lurked deep down, in the British colonists' hearts the steadfast and ineradicable idea that they were carrying the British flag abroad as worthy and equal *co-partners* of Britons at home. The blindness and folly of British statesmen have often enraged and repulsed them.

(12) Even the sagacious John Locke, who was asked by Lord Ashley (1669) to draw up a ready-made Constitution for Carolina, was utterly and entirely deceived by false ideas and Continental methods. His sketch may be thus briefly summarised. The Province was divided carefully into counties, each county with eight seigneuries, eight baronies, and four precincts, and each precinct into six

colonies. Land was to descend from father to son, and every consideration of justice and expediency sacrificed to the purpose of keeping up an hereditary nobility. No manor was allowed to be divided amongst co-heirs, and all the children of leet-men must be leet-men, to all generations. No leet-man could go off his land without his lord's leave. These provisions about 'leet-men' remind the student of colonial history of the effete 'placaats,' or ordinances of the Dutch East India Company at the Cape of Good Hope, by which it was hoped to keep the grades of society always the same. Again, John Locke hedged in the divinity of the lords-proprietors with the greatest care, and provided for their position by numberless vexatious rules of precedency. By Article XLV a Chamberlain's Court was to have care of all ceremonies, heraldry, and pedigrees, and to have power to regulate all fashions, badges, habits, games, and sports. The bureaucracy of the Constable's Court, Treasurer, and High Steward was to be of the most rigid kind. The Parliament was to be composed of landgraves, cassiques, and other strangely named office-holders. But this artificial paper Constitution, with its fragments of Dutch, Polish, and German origin, was of course distasteful to the freedom of English colonial life and obviously impossible in practice.

(13) In later times the colonies have had to struggle against the stain of convictism, and both at the Cape and in the Pacific colonies the struggle nearly ended in open rebellion. The point at issue was the same in both cases, viz. the determination to assert the equality, and as a consequence the liberty, of colonial life. Burke, in his speeches in Parliament on 'Conciliation with the American Colonies,' over and over again insists upon the truth of this fundamental fact. He says: 'First, the people of the colonies are descendants of Englishmen.

England is a nation which still, I hope, respects, and formerly adored, her freedom. The colonists emigrated from you when this part of your character was most predominant: and they took this bias and direction the moment they parted from your hands. They are, therefore, not only devoted to Liberty, but to Liberty according to English ideas and on English principles.' And so we are led up to the true idea of Imperial Federation, an idea which is based upon the worthiness and capacity of all British colonists to govern, not simply themselves in each case, but an Empire, spread everywhere over the globe, in conjunction with the present British Parliament. As they must be co-heirs of the heritage, so while they keep the link unbroken and bear their fair share of the common burden, they may be co-administrators. This is what the chief Canadian poetess, Agnes Maude Machar, writes in response to the Laureate, who, in his 'Ode to the Queen' (1887), touched on the loyalty of the 'true North':—

'We thank thee, Laureate, for thy kindly words
Spoken for us to her to whom we look
With loyal love, across the misty sea;
Thy noble words, whose generous tone may shame
The cold and heartless strain that said, Begone,
We want your love no longer; all our aim
Is riches—that your love can not increase!
Fain would we tell them that we do not seek
To hang dependent, like a helpless brood
That, selfish, drag a weary mother down;
For we have British hearts and British blood
That leap up, eager, when the danger calls!
Once and again our sons have sprung to arms
To fight in Britain's quarrel—not our own—
And drive the covetous invader back,
Who would have let us, peaceful, keep our own
So we had cast the British name away;
Canadian blood has dyed Canadian soil,
For Britain's honour, that we deemed our own,
Nor do we ask but for the right to keep

Unbroken, still, the cherished filial tie
That binds us to the distant, sea-girt isle
Our fathers loved, and taught their sons to love,
As the dear home of freemen, brave and true,
And loving *Honour* more than ease or gold.'

(14) The history of our Colonies in North America is most interesting and instructive to us as that of the country in which the great issues between England and her colonists were first raised and fought out to the bitter end. The old colonial system has long since been doomed. England could not maintain it in the war with the thirteen revolted colonies, and so her first Colonial Empire perished. England now possesses a second and greater Colonial Empire. She is deeply pledged to it not only in matters which affect her honour and good name, but in matters which touch her purse and her prosperity. After the Canadian Constitution had been granted, she conceded to the Australians (1850–60) and to Cape Colony (1854) the rights of self-government. In three regions of the globe English colonies are rapidly rising into prominence as great nations. Canada has led the way to political stability by colonial confederation, Australasia and South Africa will probably soon follow. Those who regard the greater destinies and grander mission of the British race, who claim for England an ampler sphere than she has hitherto held, must look forward to the day when by virtue of some political tie, through some representative and Amphictyonic Council Chamber at the central shrine at Westminster, the voice of the Empire will be heard by millions of free citizens in the four quarters of the world. And this hope may be realised, for the eternal barriers of space and time, which seemed to Burke the only obstacles to complete union, have been practically annihilated by the modern invention of the steam-ship and the telegraph cable.

(15) The first submarine cable was laid, as we know, between the island home of England and the island colony of Newfoundland after much doubt and many failures. The first words of sympathy and congratulation passed between England and her colonists, between Great Britain and North America, and in a moment both sides were linked together by that weird current which defies time and space. May not this subtle sympathy of the fragile strand be symbolical, and suggest those other bonds of race, language, blood, and, as a corollary, political union, which ignore mere physical barriers and make light of the eternal floods? The age of long-standing grievances and misunderstanding is surely gone by, and British colonists stand forth as fully emancipated freemen exulting in an orderly political liberty, which gives them autonomy at home and an Imperial heritage abroad in the four quarters of the globe.

'It is not to be thought of that the flood
Of British freedom, which, to the open sea
Of the world's praise, from dark antiquity
Hath flowed, "with pomp of waters, unwithstood,"
Roused though it be full often to a mood
Which spurns the check of salutary bands,
That this most famous stream in bogs and sands
Should perish: and to evil and to good
Be lost for ever. In our halls is hung
Armoury of the invincible knights of old;
We must be free or die, who speak the tongue
That Shakespeare spake; the faith and morals hold
Which Milton held.—In every thing we are sprung
Of Earth's first blood, have titles manifold.'

(WORDSWORTH, 'Poems of the Imagination.')

APPENDICES.

1. Notes on the Eskimo (p. 42), by John Rae, M.D., F.R.S.
2. Pontiac's Conspiracy (p. 45).
3. Habitat of Sioux (p. 48).
4. New England and Public Education (p. 85).
5. The Acadia of Longfellow (p. 120).
6. Seigneurial Tenure in Canada (p. 148).
7. Sir P. W. Wallis, G.C.B. (p. 162).
8. The British North America Act, 1867 (p. 213), including—
   (a) Quebec Act, 1774.
   (b) The Canadian Constitution of 1791.
   (c) The Constitution from 1840 to 1867.
9. The North-West Territories (p. 235).
10. The Selkirk Colony. A South-African parallel (p. 240).
11. The Dease and Simpson Route (p. 242).
12. Navigation on the Mackenzie River p. 248).
13. The San Juan Award (p. 253).
14. The Codrington Trust (p. 271).
15. Chronological List of the most important Expeditions in search of a North-West Passage from the fifteenth to the nineteenth century. Reference—The Circumpolar Map.

APPENDIX I.

Notes on the Eskimo.

By J. Rae, M.D., F.R.S.

'From the information I received through an admirable interpreter from the Eskimos of Repulse Bay, and from those at the Coppermine River further to the west, and from the similarity of these curious people to the Mongol race both in feature and form, I consider their original home to be the shores of Siberia, where the remains of their "yourts" or half-underground houses, built up of stones, bones of large marine animals, and possibly drift-wood, are abundantly found on projecting points of land or other places well fitted for getting at the seal, walrus and whale, which form their chief food. The houses or huts at present used by the Arctic Highlanders in the neighbourhood of Smith's Sound on the Greenland coast, and also by the East Greenlanders, resemble the ruins above referred to on the Siberian coast, not far from Behring Strait, and continuing a very considerable distance to the west. I believe that the Eskimo migrated from Siberia, forced possibly by some pressure from enemies. They crossed Behring Strait, as they have a tradition of having crossed water in coming from the setting sun eastward. On reaching the American continent they built their houses of drift-wood, of which there is an abundance drifted down the Mackenzie and one or two other rivers. From Behring Strait eastward to the Mackenzie these wooden houses are in general use; but on getting some distance east of the Mackenzie the supply of wood fails, as do the whales and walrus, and consequently the large supply of oil requisite for warming an underground hut. The Eskimo then build their winter-houses of snow, which are warmer than the Siberian "yourt." They also discontinue the use of the oo-miak or large woman's boat, no doubt because it is not now required, as the chief food, deer and musk-cattle, are now got on the land, and the salmon, of which there are large quantities, are speared at the mouths of rivers. This

kind of life, with the snow-hut as a winter dwelling and with reindeer, musk-cattle, salmon and seals (the last killed in the spring prior to the break-up of the ice without the use of the small canoe or kayak) as their food, extends eastward for several thousand miles of coast-line until Greenland is reached. Here the Eskimo again resume the half-underground winter hut and the oo-miak or woman's canoe, so as to readily transport the oil and meat of the large marine animals, as the whale and walrus. When the Eskimo crossed Behring Strait they no doubt ascended the Yukon and some others of the larger rivers of Alaska, if permitted in each case by their enemies, the North American Indians. They may have fixed their home there for a time, making for themselves bark canoes instead of skin ones. They did ascend the Mackenzie, but were driven back by their more numerous enemies the Indian tribes.' (Those named by Mackenzie between Slave Lake and the sea were Beaver, Strongbow, Mountain and Hare Indians. The Quarrellers occupied the mouth of the river.) 'In the Great Fish River the Eskimo were found by Sir George Back far inland, simply because the Indians did not drive them back. In 1771 Hearne alludes to a terrible massacre of the Eskimo by Indians on the Coppermine River at a place called "The Bloody Fall," a famous fishing station; on which occasion one poor girl was stabbed to death whilst clinging to the knees of Hearne himself. On the Mackenzie and Yukon Rivers a tribe called the Loucheux or Quarrellers are the next-door neighbours and hereditary foes of the Eskimo.

'These Loucheux are a fine and handsome race, and possess certain peculiarities. For instance, the male children have their feet compressed after the fashion of the Chinese high-class women, but not to such an extent as to prevent their walking with ease. The men wear immense "cues," so heavy in some cases with grease and various other additions that the wearers acquire a habit of carrying the head bent forward so as to carry the weight more easily. Their chief wealth is beads, with which the men's coats of skins are profusely decorated. They also carry about with them a dress suit, which they don sometimes in their own tents, but always when they visit a Hudson's Bay Company Fort, at the open door of which,

even in mid-winter, they make a long oration before entering. These Loucheux have always been friendly with the Hudson's Bay Company people, but they have always been fighting with the Eskimo, and sometimes amongst themselves. The Hudson's Bay Company have at least influenced them to keep the peace with their neighbours.

'To return to the Eskimo. I should mention that ethnologists have found that the form of the heads of Eskimo living near Behring Strait differs very much from that of those living further east and in Greenland, these latter being much longer. My own impression is that the Eskimo near Behring Strait are of mixed blood, their heads more closely resembling the Indian type. Curiously, an Eskimo brought from Hudson Bay or Labrador can make himself well understood when speaking to an Eskimo of the Mackenzie River or even further west. I do not believe that the Eskimo ever went so far south as the Aleutian Islands, which are in latitude 53° N. and 54° N.'

APPENDIX II.

Pontiac's Conspiracy, 1763.

Pontiac, originally a Catawba prisoner, and adopted into the clan of the Ottawas, was styled 'the king and lord of all the North-West,' and headed a great confederacy of Indian tribes, including Senecas, Shawnees, Miamis, Wyandots, and all then living in the country from the Niagara and the Alleghanies to the Mississippi and Lake Superior. The object of the conspiracy was to drive the English out of the country, the savages declaring that as the French must go no other nation should rule. After a few months of cruel warfare the conspiracy came to an end, mainly through the instrumentality of the French officers, who exhorted the savages 'to bury the hatchet and take the English by the hand, for a representative of the king of France would be seen amongst them no more.'—Bancroft's Hist. of the United States.

APPENDIX III.

Habitat of Sioux.

'The Sioux were specially located south of the boundary line (Lat. 49°), and did not extend north to the Saskatchewan until driven out of the States very recently.'—John Rae, M.D., F.R.S.

APPENDIX IV.

New England and Public Education.

'New England, the poorest of all the colonies, stood far ahead of all colonies, either north or south, in education; for the settlement of the Puritans had been followed at once by the establishment of a system of local schools. Every Township, it was enacted, after the Lord hath increased them to the number of fifty householders, shall appoint one to teach all children to read and write: and when any Town shall increase to the number of a hundred families they shall set up a Grammar School. The result was that in the middle of the eighteenth century New England was the one part of the world where every man and woman was able to read and write.'—Labberton's General History, p. 170.

APPENDIX V.

The Acadia of Longfellow.

'The reader of Evangeline views with delight the fruitful valleys that continue to yield abundant harvests and rich pasturage, and whose productive apple-orchards gladden the eye as in days of yore. The undoubted beauty of Longfellow's poem is unfortunately marred by the false impressions it conveys in one important respect. Had the author traced to its

sources the history of the Acadians, he would have discovered that they were by no means the guileless beings he represents, and that the expulsion became a stern necessity of war.'—Impressions of Canada, by J. S. O'Halloran. Colonies and India, December 12, 1883.

APPENDIX VI.

Seigneurial Tenure in Canada, 1663–1763.

After the close of the Rule of the Hundred Associates, which had lasted from 1627–1663, Canada came under the direct control of the King of France. The change was from an association of a hundred Merchant-venturers with a monopoly to all North America then explored from Florida to Hudson's Bay, to a supreme council of three officers acting under the Crown.

The causes of the failure of 'The Associates' are not far to seek. Louis XIII had granted them their enormous privileges under three main conditions, *first*, that the Company should supply all their settlers with food, lodging, clothing and farm implements for three years, cleared lands and grain to sow upon them; *secondly*, that the emigrants should be native Frenchmen and Roman Catholics, and that no stranger or heretic should be introduced into the country; *thirdly*, that a certain number of priests should be supported in each settlement.

The first condition presupposed the absence of the principle of self-help amongst the immigrants, the second was rendered practically impossible by its exclusiveness and illiberality. The scheme was mainly owing to Cardinal Richelieu. As we have seen, Sir David Kirk, one of the numerous Protestant refugees of England, aided *by de Caen, a Protestant Frenchman and Canadian colonist, who had turned against his country*, destroyed the Quebec settlements under a commission from Charles I. In 1662, the Company of One Hundred Associates had diminished to forty-five.

The Seigneurs were supposed, however, to repair the errors of 'The Associates.' Feudalism was to have a new growth on

the banks of the St. Lawrence. A true colonial aristocracy was to arise in America, and New France was to be a continuation, politically and socially, of Old France. It would be the era of a true oligarchy of the best men. For instance, Louis XIV gave to the illustrious De La Salle the Seigneury of Cataraqui or Frontenac, and military officers and other persons of good family received grants of land, upon which, under the denomination of *Censitaires*, soldiers and others were induced to settle. Large tracts of land were given to favourites of the French Court. The seigneuries included from 100 to 500 square miles, and they were parcelled out in small lots. The portion allotted to each inhabitant was generally three acres in breadth and seventy to eighty in depth, commencing from the banks of the St. Lawrence and running back into the woods. The Seigneurs exercised a magisterial jurisdiction, and held courts for trials of all offences committed within their territories, treason and murder excepted. When the English introduced Trial by Jury the old French gentry grumbled, because labourers and mechanics might sit in judgment upon gentlemen. Education in Canada before the conquest was entirely restricted to the upper classes and clerical orders. Common schools were unknown, and very few of the peasantry could either read or write. This was very different from the case of the New England colonists. Volney, a French traveller who visited Canada at the close of the eighteenth century, was much struck with the ignorance of the peasantry. Under these feudal conditions the noblesse became so impoverished that Louis XIV was induced to permit them to engage in trade without social degradation. The colonists were almost entirely Roman Catholics. In May, 1774, General Carleton, in his evidence before a Committee of the House of Commons, estimated the population of Canada at 100,000 Roman Catholics and 400 Protestants. Such was France under the Seigneurs. The position is summed up by the Quarterly Review, No. 217: 'New France was colonised by a Government—New England by a people. France founded a State in Canada based upon feudality and supported by the Church: to England the American colonies owed scarcely anything, and they received very little of her attention.'

APPENDIX VII.

Sir Provo William Wallis, G.C.B.

'The "Chesapeake" was carried into Halifax on the 6th of June by Lieutenant Falkner, third of the "Shannon," and Captain Laurence having died on board her on the 4th, his body was taken ashore and buried with full military honours. First Lieutenant Watt of the "Shannon" being killed and the heroic Captain Broke being disabled by his wounds, it was to Second Lieutenant Wallis, himself a Nova Scotian by birth, that the proud honour fell of carrying the victorious "Shannon" into Halifax. And now when six and seventy years have gone by, that Lieutenant Wallis still lives, and as Sir Provo William Wallis, G.C.B., is, in his ninety-ninth year, Admiral of the Fleet in the Royal Navy.'—Extract from the Journal of the R. A. and C. S. of B. Guiana, vol. iii. pp. 105–106.

APPENDIX VIII.

The British North America Act, 1867.

The history of the Canadian Constitution may be divided into the following periods:—

(1) That of Military Rule, 1760–1774.
(2) That of the Quebec Act, 1774–1791.
(3) That of the Constitution of 1791–1840.
(4) That of the Union Bill of 1840–1867.
(5) That of the Confederation Bill, known as the British North America Act, 1867.

(1) *Military Rule in Canada*, 1760–1774.

As soon as the articles of surrender were signed at Montreal in 1760, General Amherst, as the Commander of the English army, became Governor-General of Canada. He divided the country into the three districts of Quebec, Three Rivers, and Montreal. It will be observed that the distinction between

Upper and Lower Canada, between Ontario and Quebec, had not yet arisen. General Murray was appointed to Quebec, and assigned the duties of Lieutenant-Governor over Canada; Colonel Burton was appointed to Three Rivers, and General Gage to Montreal. Each of these was assisted by a Council composed of military officers which decided all cases brought before it, subject to the approval of the Lieutenant-Governor.

All the laws, customs, and judicial forms of the ancient French colony were in a moment overthrown. The English language was the sole medium of official communication; all public offices were conferred on British-born subjects, of whom there were scarcely 400 in the Colony, exclusive of the military. Many of the highest situations were given away to men of interest in England, who let them out to the highest bidder. There were no regular salaries, as the offices were paid by fees. Trial by Jury was little appreciated by a French peasantry, who could not understand a word of the pleadings. This rough-and-ready administration of Canada could not last. When complaints were sent home and laid before the Attorney and Solicitor General, it was decided, (1) that the compulsory use of English alone as the official language was, under the circumstances, inadvisable; (2) that it was unwise to abolish all the French usages and customs, especially those relating to the titles of land, the law of descent, of alienation and settlement; (3) that Canadian advocates, attorneys, and proctors should be permitted to practise in the courts.

(2) *The Quebec Act*, 1774.

'On May 2, 1774, a Bill, usually known as the Quebec Act, was brought into the House of Lords by the Earl of Dartmouth, which passed without opposition, and was sent to the Commons for their concurrence. This Bill repealed all the provisions of the Royal Proclamation of 1763, annulled all the acts of the Governor and Council relative to the civil government and administration of justice, revoked the commissions of judges and other existing officers, and established new boundaries for the Province, which was now declared to embrace all ancient Canada, Labrador, and the countries west of the Ohio and Mississippi. The Quebec Act released the Roman Catholic religion

in Canada from all penal restrictions, renewed their dues and tithes to its regular clergy, but as regarded members of their own Church only (Protestants being freed from their payment), and confirmed all classes, with the exception of the religious orders and communities, in the full possession of their properties. *The French laws were declared to be the rules for decision relative to property and civil rights,* whilst the English criminal law was established in perpetuity. *Both the civil and criminal codes, however, were liable to be altered or modified by the ordinances of the Governor and a Legislative Council.* This Council was to be appointed by the Crown, and was to consist of not more than twenty-three, nor less than seventeen members. Its power was limited to levying local or municipal taxes, and to making arrangements for the administration of the internal affairs of the Province; *the British Parliament jealously reserving to itself the right of internal taxation,* or levying duties on articles imported or exported. Every ordinance passed by this Council was to be transmitted within six months, at furthest, after enactment, for the approbation of the king, and if disallowed, to be null and void on his pleasure becoming known in Quebec.'—(Macmullen, p. 199.)

Under the provisions of this Act Canada was governed for seventeen years. The Act was a great concession to French Canadians, as it made 'The Custom of Paris' the Law of Canada. To the present day the French Civil Law prevails in the Province of Quebec.

(3) *The Canadian Constitution of* 1791.

The Constitutional Act was prepared by the Colonial Secretary, William Grenville. and, after being sent to Lord Dorchester for correction, was laid before Parliament by Mr. Pitt in the spring of 1791.

Repeal of the Quebec Act.

This Constitutional Act repealed so much of the Quebec Act as related to the appointment of a Council for the affairs of the Province of Quebec, and the powers given to it to make ordinances for the government thereof.

Division of the Provinces.

His Majesty's message expressive of his intention to divide the Province of Quebec into two separate Provinces, viz. Upper and Lower Canada, being recited, it was enacted that a Legislative Council and Assembly should be established in each Province, with power to make laws for the peace, welfare, and good government thereof.

The Legislative Council.

The members of the Legislative Council were to be appointed by the King for life, and in Upper Canada to consist of not fewer than seven, and in Lower Canada not fewer than fifteen persons. No person, not being of the full age of twenty-one years, and a natural-born subject of His Majesty or naturalised by Act of the British Parliament, or a subject of His Majesty by the conquest and cession of Canada, could be appointed to it. His Majesty was authorised to annex to hereditary titles of honour the right of being summoned to the Legislative Council in either Province. The Governor had the right of appointing a Speaker to the Legislative Council.

The Legislative Assembly.

Each Province was to be divided into districts or counties, or cities or towns or townships, which were to return representatives to the Assemblies, the Governor fixing the limits of such districts and the number of representatives to be returned for each. The whole number of members of the Assembly in Upper Canada was to be not less than sixteen, and in Lower Canada not less than fifty, and to be chosen by a majority of votes. The *County Members* were to be elected by owners of land in freehold or fief or roture, to the value of forty shillings sterling a year, over and above all rents and charges payable out of or in respect of the same. *Members for the town or township* were elected by persons having a dwelling-house and a lot of ground therein of the yearly value of five pounds sterling or upwards, or who, having resided in the town for twelve calendar months next before the date of the writ of election, should bona fide have paid one year's rent for the dwelling-house in which

he should have resided, at the rate of ten pounds sterling per annum, or upwards.

Disqualifications for the Assembly.

No person being a Legislative Councillor, or a clergyman of the Church of England or Rome, or a teacher of any other religious profession, could be eligible to the House of Assembly in either Province, nor any person who was not a natural-born subject or naturalised as aforesaid, or a subject of His Majesty by the conquest.

Summoning, Prorogation, and Dissolution of Parliament.

Power was given to the Governor to fix the times and places of holding the first and every other session of the Legislative Council and Assembly in each province, giving due notice thereof, and to prorogue the same from time to time and to dissolve it *whenever he deemed such a course expedient.* They were to be convoked once at least in every twelve months, and each Assembly was to continue four years from the day of the return of writs for choosing the members; subject, however, to be sooner prorogued and dissolved, at the pleasure of the Governor.

The Royal Assent.

The Governor was authorised to give or withhold His Majesty's assent to all bills passed by the two branches, and to reserve such as he might think fit for the signification of His Majesty's pleasure thereon. Copies of all bills he might assent to were also to be forwarded to the Secretary of State: and His Majesty might, at any time within two years after receipt by the Secretary, disallow them if he thought fit. Bills reserved by the Governor for His Majesty's pleasure were not to have effect till sanctioned and notice thereof given by message to the two Houses of the Provincial Parliament, or by proclamation; nor could the Royal assent to bills be given unless within two years next after the day when presented to the Governor for the Royal assent.

The Crown Lands and Clergy Reserves.

It was enacted that an allotment of Crown lands, in each Province, should be made for the support and maintenance of a Protestant clergy within the same, and such allotment was to be, as nearly as circumstances and the nature of the case would admit, *equal in value to a seventh part of the lands granted.*

Church Endowment and Preferment.

His Majesty empowered the Governors in each Province to erect parsonages and endow them, and to present incumbents or ministers of the Church of England, subject and liable to all rights of institution and all other spiritual and ecclesiastical jurisdiction and authority lawfully granted to the Bishop of Nova Scotia.

The Provincial Legislature and Church Endowment.

Power was given to the Provincial Legislature to vary and repeal the provisions relating to such allotments for the support of a Protestant clergy, parsonage and rectories, and presentation of incumbents or ministers; but it was provided that no bills in this behalf were to be assented to by His Majesty until thirty days after they had been laid before both Houses of the Imperial Parliament, nor was His Majesty to assent to any such bill in case of an address from either of the Houses during that period requesting him to withhold the Royal assent from it. The intent of these privileges was to preserve the rights and interests of the Established Church of England in both Provinces from invasion by their respective Legislatures.

Tenure of Land in Upper Canada.

All lands to be thereafter granted in Upper Canada *were to be in free and common socage*, and so in Lower Canada when the grantee required it.

Duties, Commerce, Navigation.

The British Parliament reserved to itself the right of providing regulations or prohibitions, imposing, levying and collecting duties, for the regulation of navigation, or for the

regulation of commerce, to be carried on between the said two Provinces, or between either of them or any other part of His Majesty's dominions or any foreign country, or for appointing and directing the payment of duties so imposed; leaving, however, the exclusive appropriation of all moneys so levied, in either Province, to the Legislature thereof, and applicable to public uses therein as it might think fit to apply them.

Inauguration of the Act.

The Governor, pursuant to the King's instructions, was to fix upon and declare the day when the Act should commence, which was not to be later than the 31st of December, 1791; nor was the calling together of the Legislative Council and Assembly, in each Province, to be later than the 31st of December, 1792.—Macmullen, pp. 217–218.

The main feature of this 'Constitutional Act' was the division of the two Provinces. It made the *third great change* in the government of Canada subsequent to 1760. By it parliaments were introduced for the first time into this part of British America.

It must be recollected that a similar form of government had already been given to Nova Scotia in 1758, and to New Brunswick in 1784.

This Act lasted until 1841.

Lord Durham's Report.

The Papineau Rebellion had deeply stirred public opinion at home and had aroused the fears of English statesmen. Martial law had taken the place of ordinary law in Canada, and it seemed as if the last vestige of England's authority in that country would disappear and the rule, possibly, of the United States be substituted for it. Canadian loyalty might be conciliated but never enforced. At this crisis Lord Durham was sent out by the Queen as 'High Commissioner for the adjustment of certain important questions depending in the Provinces of Lower and Upper Canada respecting the form and future Government of the said Provinces.' His investigations however were carried out not only in the River Provinces, but also in New Brunswick and Nova Scotia. He landed at Quebec May 27, 1838, and left again November 1, 1838. His well-

known Report is dated London, January 31, 1839. Within a space of six months Lord Durham had carefully examined and mastered the difficulties of the colonists, and his Report is a text-book for colonial constitutional reform. The first part, pp. 1–102, relates to Lower Canada, and is very exhaustive ; the second part to Upper Canada, pp. 103–107 ; the third to the Eastern Provinces and Newfoundland ; whilst a fourth part treats of the important question of emigration and the disposal of public lands. His Report is more useful as laying down principles than as suggesting, seriatim, definite matters of reform. He himself says, p. 204 : ' When I look upon the various and deep-rooted causes of mischief which the past inquiry has pointed out as existing in every institution, in the constitutions and in the very composition of society throughout a great part of these Provinces, I almost shrink from the apparent presumption of grappling with these gigantic difficulties. Nor shall I attempt to do so in detail.' In Lower Canada Lord Durham came to the conclusion that the contest was not one of classes but of races. The only public occasion on which French and British colonists met was in the jury-box, and then they only met to the utter obstruction of justice. No doubt the late war had intensified already existing prejudices. He was also struck with the ignorance of the French *habitans,* who were totally wanting in the art of self-government, having been under seigneurial rule so long. The pushing British immigrant often took up derelict farms and made them pay for cultivation, and British merchants, with their keen business instincts, created trade and bought out the seigniours. This progressive spirit alarmed and repelled the slow and leisurely French Canadians. There was little education in the Province for the *habitans* as a class, but the cleverest of them were brought up at the seminaries as notaries and surgeons, and wherever they went commanded an exaggerated influence, which they often used as demagogues against British rule. But Lord Durham came to the conclusion that the cry of ' La Nation Canadienne,' examined carefully, meant Canadian ruin. In Upper Canada the race question did not appear, but there were troubles in the working of the Government. There was a feeling of hostility against the enormous power of the oli-

garchy known as the 'Family Compact,' which had filled the Bench, Magistracy, and the high offices of the Episcopal Church for a long time. In both Provinces Lord Durham found that the Clergy Reserves question required a speedy settlement. In Upper Canada the reformers were anxious to secure the responsibility of the Executive Council and make them amenable to the popular will. In Lower Canada the constitutional reformers attacked the Legislative Council, which, as Lord Durham observes (p. 107), was a less diplomatic step. In Upper Canada the largely increasing number of immigrants still further complicated the situation, and formed an ever-uncertain factor in politics. Lord Durham acknowledged the political deadlock often caused by the Representatives of the people stopping supplies in all the Provinces, and says, 'We are not now to consider the policy of establishing representative Government in the North American Colonies. That has been irrevocably done.... The Crown must consent to carry the Government on by means of those in whom the representative members have confidence.' Again, 'The matters which concern us,' he observes, 'are very few. The constitution of the form of government, the regulation of foreign relations, and of trade with the mother-country, the other British colonies, and foreign nations, and the disposal of the public lands (a very important reservation indeed), are the only points on which the mother-country requires a control. Municipal management, local government, and the privileges, *carried to their logical conclusion*, of representative Government will do the rest, and make even the apathetic *habitan* alert and progressive.' Again, the Imperial policy up to 1816 (p. 45) had been to isolate the British colonies in Canada and keep them weak and disunited. But this was a short-sighted policy of fear and suspicion, and Lord Durham advises a Legislative Union over all the British Provinces in North America.

The following is an extract from Lord John Russell's Despatch to the Governor-General of Canada, dated October 14, 1839, on the Constitutional question in Canada :—

'The Queen's Government have no desire to thwart the representative Assemblies of British North America in their

measures of reform and improvement. They have no wish to make these Provinces the resource for patronage at home. They are earnestly intent on giving to the talent and character of leading persons in the Colonies, advantages similar to those which talent and character, employed in the public service of the United Kingdom, obtain. Her Majesty has no desire to maintain any system in policy among her North American subjects which opinion condemns. In receiving the Queen's commands, therefore, to protest against any declaration at variance with the honour of the Crown and the unity of the Empire, I am at the same time instructed to announce Her Majesty's gracious intention to look to the affectionate attachment of her people in North America, as the best security for permanent dominion.

'It is necessary for this purpose that no official misconduct should be screened by Her Majesty's representative in the Provinces: and that no private interests should be allowed to compete with the general good.

'Your Excellency is fully in possession of the principles which have guided Her Majesty's advisers on this subject: and you must be aware that there is no surer way of earning the approbation of the Queen than *by maintaining the harmony of the executive with the legislative authorities.* . . . Every political Constitution in which different bodies share the supreme power, is only enabled to exist by the forbearance of those amongst whom this power is distributed. In this respect the example of England may well be imitated. The Sovereign using the prerogative of the Crown to the utmost extent, and the House of Commons exerting its power of the purse to carry all its resolutions into immediate effect, would produce confusion in the country in less than a twelvemonth. So in a colony: the Governor thwarting every legitimate proposition of the Assembly, and the Assembly continually recurring to its power of refusing supplies, can but disturb all political relations, embarrass trade, and retard the prosperity of the people. Each must exercise a wise moderation. The Governor must only oppose the wishes of the Assembly where the honour of the Crown or the interests of the Empire are deeply concerned; and the Assembly must be ready to modify some of its measures

for the sake of harmony and from a reverent attachment to the authority of Great Britain.'

Six Resolutions were adopted by 'The Special Council' of Lower Canada (November 13, 1839) on the subject of 'The Union Question':—

'(1) That under existing circumstances, in order to provide adequately for the peace and tranquillity, and the good, constitutional and efficient government of the Provinces of Upper and Lower Canada, the reunion of these Provinces under one legislature, in the opinion of this Council, has become of indispensable and urgent necessity.

'(2) That the declared determination of Her Majesty, conveyed in her gracious message to Parliament, to reunite the Provinces of Upper and Lower Canada, is in accordance with the opinion entertained by the Council, and receives their ready acquiescence.

'(3) That among the principal enactments which, in the opinion of this Council, ought to make part of the Imperial Act for reuniting the Provinces, it is expedient and desirable that a suitable Civil List should be provided for, securing the independence of judges, and maintaining the Executive Government in the exercise of its necessary and indispensable functions.

'(4) That regard being had to the nature of the public debt of Upper Canada, and the objects for which principally it was contracted, namely, the improvement of internal communications, alike useful and beneficial for both Provinces, it would be just and reasonable, in the opinion of this Council, that such part of the said debt as has been contracted for this object, and not for defraying expenses of a local nature, should be chargeable on the revenues of both Provinces.

'(5) That the adjustment and settlement of the terms of the reunion of the two Provinces may, in the opinion of this Council, with all confidence be submitted to the wisdom and justice of the Imperial Parliament, under the full assurance that provision of the nature of those already mentioned, as well as such others as the measure of reunion may require, will receive due consideration.

'(6) That, in the opinion of this Council, it is most expedient, with a view to the security of Her Majesty's North American Provinces, and the speedy cessation of the enormous expense now incurred by the parent State for the defence of Upper and Lower Canada, that the present temporary Legislature of this Province should, as soon as practicable, be succeeded by a permanent Legislature in which the people of these two Provinces may be adequately represented and their constitutional rights exercised and maintained.'

(4) *The Union Bill of* 1840.

Provides '(1) for the union under the name of the Province of Canada.'

'(2) For the Constitution of one Legislative Council and one Legislative Assembly, under the title of "The Legislative Council and Assembly of Canada."

'(3) The Council not to be composed of fewer than twenty natural-born or naturalised subjects of the Queen, 'the tenure of such office being for life, excepting the member chooses to resign, is absent from his duties without cause or permission for two successive sessions, shall become a citizen or subject of any foreign power, or become bankrupt, an insolvent debtor, public defaulter, or attainted of treason, or be convicted of felony, or of any infamous crime.'

'(4) The Speaker of the Legislative Council to be appointed by the Governor, who may remove him and appoint another. Ten members to constitute a quorum, including the Speaker.

'(5) The Houses of Assembly to consist of members chosen from the same places as heretofore, divided into counties and ridings in Upper Canada; but that the counties of Halton, Northumberland, and Lincoln shall each be divided into two ridings, and return one member for each riding.

'(6) That the city of Toronto shall have two members; and the towns of Kingston, Brockville, Hamilton, Cornwall, Niagara, London, and Bytown one each.

'(7) That in Lower Canada every county heretofore represented by one member, shall continue to be so represented, excepting Montmorency, Orleans, L'Assomption, La Chesnaye, L'Acadia, La Prairie, Dorchester, and Beauce. These to be conjoined

as follows: Montmorency and Orleans into the county of Montmorency; L'Assomption and La Chesnaye to be the county of Leinster; L'Acadia and La Prairie to be that of Huntingdon; and Dorchester and Beauce that of Dorchester; and each of these four new counties to return one member.

'(8) The cities of Quebec and Montreal to return two members each; and the towns of Three Rivers and Sherbrooke one each.

'(9) The qualifications of a member to be those of *bonâ fide* possession of landed estate worth £500 sterling.

'(10) The passing of any bill to repeal the provision of the 19th George III or the acts of the 31st of that reign relating to the government of the Province of Quebec; and the dues and rights of the clergy of the Church of Rome; the allotment and appropriation of lands for the support of a Protestant clergy, the endowments of the Church of England, or its internal discipline or establishment, or affecting the enjoyment or exercise of any form or mode of religious worship in any way whatever; or *which may affect Her Majesty's prerogative touching the waste lands of the Crown, must be first submitted to the Imperial Parliament previous to the declaration of the Sovereign's assent;* and that if the Imperial Legislature shall petition the Queen to withhold her assent within thirty days after such act shall have been received, it shall not be lawful to affix the Royal assent thereto.

'(11) The levying of Imperial and Colonial duties; the appointment of a Court of Appeal; the administration of the civil and criminal laws; the fixation of the Court of Queen's Bench within the late Province of Upper Canada; the regulation of trade; the consolidation of all the revenues derivable from the Colony into one fund, to be appropriated for the public service of Canada.

'(12) Out of this fund £45,000 to be payable to Her Majesty, her heirs and successors, for the purpose of defraying the expenses for the administration of the Government and the Laws or the Civil List. This defrayed the expenses of Governor, Lieutenant-Governor, Chief Justices in Upper and Lower Canada, and Puisne Judges and Judges.

'(13) And a further sum of £30,000 out of the said Consolidated Revenue Fund for defraying other Civil Service expenses.

'(14) The total sum of £75,000 thus raised and paid for the Civil List to be accepted and taken by Her Majesty by way of Civil List, instead of all territorial and other revenues then at the disposal of the Crown.

'(15) The first charge upon the Consolidated Revenue Fund to be its collection, management, and receipt; the second, the public debt of the two Provinces at the time of the union; *the third, the payment of the clergy of the Church of England, Church of Scotland, and the ministers of other Christian denominations, agreeably to previous laws and usages;* the fourth charge to be the Civil List of £45,000; and the fifth that of £30,000, payable during the lifetime of Her Majesty and for five years after her demise; the sixth charge to be that of the expenses and charges before levied and reserved by former Acts of the two Provinces, as long as they are payable.

'(16) All bills for appropriating any part of the revenues of the United Province to originate with the Governor, who shall have the right of initiating the same, as well as of recommending the appropriation of any new tax or impost, and that, having thus been recommended, the Legislative Assembly shall first discuss the same.

'(17) The formation of new townships to originate with the Governor, as well as the appointment of township officers.

'(18) *The English language only to be used* in all written or printed proceedings of the Legislature.'

The progress towards self-government by the provisions of this Act was very great and far in advance of anything that had been done for the Colonies up to this date. It was a Reform Bill and a Distribution Bill. Still the Governor retained a great deal of real power. He was the nominee of the Crown, and held the right of initiating 'Appropriation' Bills and other important measures in his own hand. His services were paid for out of the Colonial Exchequer. The Judges and Chief Judges also held their briefs direct from the Crown, although paid for by the Colonists. The Church and Church property were dealt with very tenderly, the stipends of the clergy being a third charge upon the consolidated revenue. The Imperial Government still retained a tight hold over waste or Crown

lands, a hold they subsequently released, much to their disadvantage, both in North America and in other parts of our Colonial Empire.

The veto on Colonial legislation upon the enactments of George III's reign was an important one: these enactments covered a great deal of debateable ground. That the English language alone should be the official language was nothing more than could be expected from the circumstances of the time.

This Bill took effect on February 10, 1841. It was a Re-union Bill, and lasted until the Confederation Bill of 1867. This was the fourth great change in the government of Canada.

The Constitutions of Nova Scotia, 1758, *New Brunswick*, 1784, *and Prince Edward Island*, 1770.

With regard to Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, it must be recollected that their constitutional histories were slightly different from those of the River Provinces. They had both received a Constitution some years before Upper and Lower Canada (Ontario and Quebec). This Constitution consisted of a Governor, representing the Sovereign, and a Parliament comprising two Houses, the Council and the Assembly.

The Council was appointed by the Crown, that is, by the Governor acting in behalf of the Sovereign. Its members were usually selected from the most wealthy and influential class, and held office for life. The Bishop of the Church of England and the Chief Justice were *ex officio* members of the Council.

'In Nova Scotia the Assembly was at first elected for no definite period, but continued during the pleasure of the Governor. The House elected in 1770 was not dissolved until 1785, and is known as the Long Parliament of Nova Scotia. In 1792 an Act was passed requiring that a new House should be elected every seven years. In the Provinces of Upper and Lower Canada the Assembly was elected for the term of four years (1791). At first Roman Catholics were not allowed to sit in the Assembly of Nova Scotia, or to vote at elections. Indeed, previous to 1783, they could not hold lands or legally celebrate public worship in the Province.'—(Calkin's *History of British America*).

It must be noticed that this penal and prohibitive spirit was not displayed by the British Government in the River Provinces.

Both in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick the Governor and Council appropriated the public money in the way they thought fit, and gave little account of the expenditure. The Assemblies were always fighting the Governor and Council on the score of appropriation. 'In New Brunswick disputes between the two branches of the Legislature began early, originating in the rejection by the Council of a bill providing for the payment to members of the Assembly of *7s. 6d.* per day during the session. The Assembly then placed the amount with the appropriation for roads and bridges and other public services. The Council rejected the whole bill, and for three years no moneys were voted. Thomas Carleton held the office of Governor for twenty years. On his retirement the government was administered for several years by members of the Council.'—(Calkin.)

At the period of the union of the two Canadas (1840) considerable changes were made in the Nova Scotia Constitution under Lord Sydenham, who temporarily assumed their government for that purpose. Certain additions were made from the popular party to the Legislative Council and a larger number were taken from the Legislature into the Executive Council, and the tenure of the higher offices was no longer to be for life. But all these reforms totally failed to satisfy even the old loyalists of Nova Scotia. 'The progress of events had left but one escape for all the British North American Provinces from being one by one absorbed into the neighbouring States, and that was the confederation of all their various elements of nationality into an aggregate power of sufficient size to stand by itself, to govern itself on large principles, and to be able to defend itself.'—(Sir C. B. Adderley's *The Colonial Policy of Lord John Russell's Administration.*)

The Provincial Legislatures of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick were left undisturbed, excepting so far as they were necessarily altered by the Confederation Bill, which defined the spheres of federal and provincial action.

The government of *Prince Edward Island* was separated from that of Nova Scotia in 1770, and in 1773 a Legislative Assembly was constituted, to which the Executive was distinctly recognised as responsible. The separate government was granted

in accordance with the petition of the principal proprietors, and on the understanding that the expense of it should be defrayed from the quit-rents.

The Island took its name from the Duke of Kent, the father of the Queen.

(5) *Constitution of the Dominion of Canada.*

The Act of Union, or as it is legally styled, 'The British North American Act, 1867,' provides that the Dominion of Canada shall be divided into four Provinces, viz., (1) *Ontario*, formerly Upper Canada, (2) *Quebec*, formerly Lower Canada, (3) *Nova Scotia*, (4) *New Brunswick*, the existing limits of each to remain undisturbed.

The Executive Government is vested in the Queen, the representative being the *Governor-General*, whose salary is fixed at £10,000 sterling, payable by Canada, or other chief executive officer for the time being.

Her Majesty has the command-in-chief of all military and naval forces, and the power to remove the seat of Government from Ottawa.

Under sections 11–12 (The Executive Power) a Privy Council was constituted for Canada. 'There shall be a Council to aid and advise in the government of Canada, to be styled the Queen's Privy Council for Canada; and the persons who are to be members of that Council shall be from time to time chosen and summoned by the Governor-General and sworn in as Privy Councillors, and members thereof may from time to time be removed by the Governor-General.

'12. All Powers, Authorities, and Functions, which under any Act of the Parliament of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, or of the Legislature of Upper Canada, Lower Canada, Canada, Nova Scotia or New Brunswick, are at the Union vested in or exercised by the respective Governors or Lieutenant Governors of those Provinces with the advice and consent of the respective Executive Councils thereof, or in conjunction with these Councils, or with any number of members thereof, or by those Governors and Lieutenant-Governors individually shall . . . be vested in and exercisable by the Governor-General with the advice or with the advice and consent of or

in conjunction with the Queen's Privy Council for Canada, or any members thereof or by the Governor-General individually, as the case requires, subject nevertheless (except with respect to such as exist under Acts of Parliament of Great Britain) to be abolished or altered by the Parliament of Canada.'

In his work on Parliamentary Government in the British Colonies Mr. Alpheus Todd writes:—

'As a rule, all outgoing ministers should resign their seats in the Executive Council or be formally removed from that body. Hitherto, it has not been deemed expedient to retain ex-Cabinet ministers in the list of Colonial Executive Councils, merely as honorary members and in analogy to Imperial practice. An organisation resembling the Imperial Privy Council and liable to be convened on special occasions, or for ceremonial purposes, is not ordinarily required in Colonial institutions, which, at the outset at least, should be as simple and practical as possible.

'But in the Dominion of Canada the practice prevails that the Queen's Privy Council for Canada, the members of which are appointed by the Governor-General to aid and advise the Government and are removed at his discretion, are nevertheless permitted to retain an honorary position in the Council after their retirement from the Cabinet. By command of the Queen, members of the Privy Council not of the Cabinet have a special precedence within the Dominion and are permitted to be styled Honourables for life.'

As above hinted, these Colonial Privy Councils may be the germ from which a Federal Parliament of the Empire may arise.

The General or Federal Parliament of Canada consists of the Queen and Upper House, styled the *Senate* and *The House of Commons*.

The Senate is composed of seventy-two members, twenty-four from Ontario, twenty-four from Quebec, twelve from Nova Scotia, and twelve from New Brunswick.

Senators are chosen by the Crown for life, are to be subjects of Her Majesty, and to have a property qualification of £800

above all debts and liabilities. The Senator must also be a resident of the Province for which he is appointed. Six additional members may be added to the Senate by the Queen, but its whole number is not to exceed seventy-eight at any time. The Speaker of the Senate is appointed by the Crown.

The House of Commons consists of one hundred and eighty-one members, eighty-two from Ontario, sixty-five from Quebec, nineteen from Nova Scotia, and fifteen from New Brunswick. The duration of the House of Commons is fixed for five years, unless sooner dissolved by the Governor-General. Quebec is always to return sixty-five members at least, and should the ratio of increase be greater in the other Provinces, as developed by the Census to be taken every ten years, their parliamentary representation is to be proportionately increased. The Parliament of Canada may increase the representation in the House of Commons, but only in the proportion fixed by the Act. The qualification of its members is £500.

Powers of the General or Federal Parliament.

It shall be lawful for the Queen, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate and House of Commons, to make laws for the peace, order, and good government of Canada, in relation to all matters not coming within the classes of subjects by this Act assigned exclusively to the Legislatures of the Provinces; and for greater certainty, but not so as to restrict the generality of the foregoing terms of this section, it is hereby declared that (notwithstanding anything in this Act) the exclusive legislative authority of the Parliament of Canada extends to all matters coming within the classes of subjects next hereinafter enumerated; that is to say,

(1) The Public Debt and Property.

(2) The Regulation of Trade and Commerce.

(3) The raising of money by any mode or system of taxation.

(4) The borrowing of money on the public credit.

(5) Postal Service.

(6) The Census and Statistics.

(7) Military and Naval Service, Militia, and Defence.

(8) Providing the salaries of civil and other officers of the Government of Canada.

(9) Beacons, buoys, light-houses, and Sable Island.
(10) Navigation and Shipping.
(11) Quarantine and Marine Hospitals.
(12) Sea coast and inland Fisheries.
(13) Ferries between a Province and any British or foreign country.
(14) Currency and Coinage.
(15) Banks and the issue of paper money.
(16) Savings' Banks.
(17) Weights and Measures.
(18) Bills of Exchange and Promissory Notes.
(19) Interest.
(20) Legal tender.
(21) Bankruptcy and insolvency.
(22) Patents of invention.
(23) Copyrights.
(24) Indians and Indian Reserves.
(25) Naturalisation and aliens.
(26) Marriage and divorce.
(27) Procedure in criminal law.
(28) Penitentiaries.

Provincial Constitutions.

For each Province the Governor-General appoints a Lieutenant-Governor to hold office for five years.

(1) *Ontario.*

The Legislature of Ontario consists of the Lieutenant-Governor and of one Chamber only, styled the Legislative Assembly, numbering eighty-two members, elected for four years. Property qualification is the same as for the House of Commons.

(2) *Quebec.*

The Legislature of Quebec consists of the Lieutenant-Governor and of two Houses, the Legislative Council consisting of twenty-four members appointed by the Crown for life, and the Legislative Assembly, consisting of sixty-five members, elected for four years. The property qualification is the same as for the House of Commons.

(3) *Nova Scotia.*

The Legislature of Nova Scotia consists of a Lieutenant-Governor and of a Legislative Council of seventeen members and a Legislative Assembly of thirty-seven members.

(4) *New Brunswick.*

The Legislature of New Brunswick consists of a Lieutenant-Governor, a Legislative Council of seventeen members, and a Legislative Assembly of forty-one members.

Exclusive Powers of the Provincial or Local Legislatures.

In each Province the Legislature may exclusively make laws in relation to matters coming within the classes of subjects enumerated as follows:—

(1) The amendment from time to time of the Constitution of the Province, except as regards the office of Lieutenant-Governor.

(2) Direct taxation within the Province for revenue for provincial expenses.

(3) The borrowing of money on the sole credit of the Provinces.

(4) The establishment and tenure of provincial offices and the appointment and payment of provincial officers.

(5) The management and sale of the public lands belonging to the Province and of the timber and wood thereon.

(6) The establishment, maintenance, and management of hospitals, asylums, charities, and eleemosynary institutions in and for the Province other than marine hospitals.

(7) The establishment, maintenance, and management of public and reformatory prisons in and for the Province.

(8) Municipal institutions in the Province.

(9) Shop, saloon, tavern, auctioneer and other licences, in order to the raising of a revenue for provincial, local, or municipal purposes.

(10) Local works and undertakings other than such as are of the following classes:—

(*a*) Lines of steam or other ships, railways, canals, telegraphs, and other works and undertakings, connecting the Province with any other or others of the Provinces, or extending beyond the limits of the Provinces.

(*b*) Lines of steam-ships between the Province and any British or foreign country.

(*c*) Such works as, although wholly situate within the Province, are before or after their execution declared by the Parliament of Canada to be for the general advantage of Canada or for the advantage of two or more of the Provinces.

(11) The incorporation of companies with provincial objects.

(12) The solemnisation of marriage in the Province.

(13) Property and civil rights in the Province.

(14) The administration of justice in the Province, including the constitution, maintenance, and organisation of provincial courts, both of civil and criminal jurisdiction, and including proceedings in civil matters in those courts.

(15) The imposition of punishment by fine, penalty, or imprisonment for enforcing any law of the Province made in relation to any matter coming within any of the classes of subjects enumerated in this section.

Education.

The Provincial Legislature may exclusively make laws in relation to Education subject and according to the following provisions:—

(*a*) Nothing in such law shall prejudicially affect any right or privilege with respect to denominational schools which any class of persons possess by law in the Province at the time of the Union (1867).

(*b*) All the powers, privileges, and duties of the Union by law conferred and imposed in Upper Canada on the separate schools and school trustees of the Queen's Roman Catholic subjects shall be and the same are hereby extended to the dissentient schools of the Queen's Protestant and Roman Catholic subjects in Quebec.

(*c*) When in any Province a system of separate or dissentient schools exists by law at the Union or is thereafter established by the Legislature of the Province, an appeal shall lie to the Governor-General in Council from any act or decision of any provincial authority affecting any right or privilege of the Protestant or Roman Catholic minority of the Queen's subjects in relation to education.

(*d*) In case any such provincial law as from time to time seems to the Governor-General in Council requisite for the due execution of the provisions of this section is not made, or in case any decision of the Governor-General in Council on any appeal under this section is not duly executed by the proper provincial authority in that behalf, then and in every such case, and as far only as the circumstances of the case require, the Parliament of Canada may make remedial laws for the due execution of this section, and of any decision of the Governor-General in Council under this section.

It will be noticed that by these clauses the consciences and religious liberties of both Protestants in Ontario and of Roman Catholics in Quebec are safeguarded. At the same time in all matters of dispute upon the controversial ground of education, the supreme power of the Federal Parliament and of the Governor-General in Council is asserted.

Uniformity of Laws in Ontario, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick.

The Parliament of Canada may make provision for the uniformity of all or any of the laws relating to property and civil rights in Ontario, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick, but any Act of the Parliament of Canada providing for this uniformity shall not have effect in any Province unless adopted by the Legislature of that Province.

This asserts the supremacy of the Federal Parliament as the only power that can codify and systematise law.

Agriculture and Immigration.

The Provincial Legislature may make laws in relation to Agriculture and Immigration within their respective areas, but it must not be repugnant to any Act of the Parliament of Canada on the same subject. Here again the supremacy of the central government is asserted.

Judicature.

The Governor-General shall appoint the judges of the Superior, District, and County Courts in each Province, except those of the Courts of Probate in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick.

Until the laws relative to property and civil rights in Ontario, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick, and the procedure of the courts in those Provinces are made uniform, the judges of the courts of those Provinces appointed by the Governor-General shall be selected from the respective bars of those Provinces.

The judges of the courts of Quebec shall be selected from the bar of that Province.

The judges of the Superior Courts shall hold office during good behaviour, but shall be removable by the Governor-General on address of the Senate and House of Commons. The salaries, allowances, and pensions of the judges of the Superior, District, and County Courts (except the Courts of Probate in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick), and of the Admiralty Courts in cases where the judges thereof are for the time being paid by salary, shall be fixed and provided for by the Parliament of Canada.

The Parliament of Canada may, notwithstanding anything in this Act, from time to time provide for the constitution, maintenance, and organisation of a general Court of Appeal for Canada, and for the establishment of any additional Courts for the better administration of the laws of Canada.

Revenues, Debts, Assets.

All duties and revenues over which the respective Legislatures of Canada, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick, before and at the Union had and have power of appropriation, except such portions thereof as are by this Act reserved to the respective Legislatures, or are raised by them in accordance with the special powers conferred upon them by this Act, shall form one consolidated revenue fund, to be appropriated for the public service of Canada in the manner and subject to the charges in this Act provided.

The consolidated revenue fund of Canada shall be permanently charged with the costs, charges, and expenses incident to the collection, management, and receipt thereof, and the same shall form the first charge thereon, subject to be reviewed and audited in such manner as shall be ordered by the Governor-General in Council until the Parliament otherwise provides.

The annual interest of the public debts of the several Provinces of Canada, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick at the Union

shall form the second charge on the consolidated revenue fund of Canada.

Unless altered by the Parliament of Canada, the salary of the Governor-General shall be £10,000 sterling, payable out of the consolidated revenue fund of Canada, and the same shall form the third charge thereof.

All stocks, cash, bankers' balances, and securities for money belonging to each Province at the time of the Union, except as in this Act mentioned, shall be the property of Canada, and shall be taken in reduction of the amount of the respective debts of the Provinces at the Union.

The public works and property of each Province, enumerated in the third schedule to this Act, shall be the property of Canada.

All lands, mines, minerals, royalties belonging to the several Provinces of Canada, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick at the Union, and all sums then due or payable for such lands, mines, minerals or royalties, shall belong to the several Provinces of Ontario, Quebec, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, in which the same are situate or arise, or subject to any trusts existing in respect thereof, and to any interest other than that of the Province in the same.

All assets connected with such portions of the public debt of each Province as are assumed by that Province shall belong to that Province.

The assets enumerated in the fourth schedule to this Act belonging at the Union to the Province of Canada, shall be the property of Ontario and Quebec conjointly.

Nova Scotia shall be liable to Canada for the amount (if any) by which its public debt exceeds at the Union seven million dollars, and shall be charged with interest at the rate of five per cent. per annum thereon.

In case the public debts of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick do not at the Union amount to seven and eight million dollars respectively, they shall respectively receive by half-yearly payments in advance from the Government of Canada, interest at five per cent. per annum on the difference between the actual amounts of their respective debts and such stipulated amounts.

The several Provinces shall retain all their respective public

property not otherwise disposed of in this Act, subject to the right of Canada to assume any lands or public property required for fortification or for the defence of the country.

The following sums shall be paid yearly by Canada to the several Provinces for the support of their Governments and Legislatures:—

Ontario . . .	80,000 dollars,
Quebec . . .	70,000 „
Nova Scotia . .	60,000 „
New Brunswick . .	50,000 „

and an annual grant in aid of each Province shall be made, equal to eighty cents. per head of the population as ascertained by the census of 1861, and in the case of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, by each subsequent decennial census until the population of each of those two Provinces amounts to 400,000 souls, at which rate such grant shall thereafter remain. Such grants shall be in full settlement of all future demand on Canada, and shall be paid half-yearly in advance to each Province; but the Government of Canada shall deduct from such grants, as against any Province, all sums chargeable as interest on the public debt of that Province in excess of the several amounts stipulated in this Act.

New Brunswick shall receive by half-yearly payments in advance from Canada for the period of ten years from the Union, an additional allowance of 63,000 dollars per annum; but as long as the public debt of that Province remains under seven million dollars, a deduction equal to the interest at five per cent. per annum on the deficiency shall be made from that allowance of 63,000 dollars.

All articles of the growth, produce or manufacture of any one of the Provinces shall, from and after the Union, be admitted free into each of the other Provinces.

The customs and excise laws of each Province shall, subject to the provisions of this Act, continue in force until altered by the Parliament of Canada.

Where custom duties are, at the Union, leviable on any goods, wares or merchandise in any two Provinces, those goods, wares or merchandise may, from and after the Union, be imported from one of those Provinces into the other of them, as proof of

payment of the custom duty leviable thereon in the Province of exportation, and on payment of such further amount (if any) of custom duty as is leviable thereon in the Province of importation.

Nothing in this Act shall affect the right of New Brunswick to levy the lumber dues provided in the revised statutes of New Brunswick.

Such portions of the duties and revenues over which the respective Legislatures of Canada, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick had before the Union power of appropriation as are by this Act reserved to the respective Governments or Legislatures of the Provinces, and all duties and revenues raised by them in accordance with the special powers conferred upon them by this Act, shall in each Province form one consolidated revenue fund to be appropriated for the public service of the Province.

Admission of other Colonies.

Provision was made for the admission of Newfoundland, Prince Edward Island, British Columbia, Rupert's Land and the North-West Territory, in case of application from the Legislatures of these Provinces.

The first Governor-General of the Dominion was the Right Honorable Charles Stanley Viscount Monck, and the Honorable John A. Macdonald was entrusted with the formation of the first Ministry, which consisted of:—

Hon. (now Sir) John Alexander Macdonald, Prime Minister.
Hon. George Etienne Cartier, Minister of Militia.
Hon. (now Sir) Alexander Tilloch Galt, Minister of Finance.
Hon. William Macdougall, Minister of Public Works.
Hon. William Pearce Howland, Minister of Inland Revenue.
Hon. Adams George Archibald, Q.C., Secretary of State for the Provinces.
Hon. Adam Johnston Ferguson-Blair, President of the Privy Council.
Hon. Peter Mitchell, Minister of Marine and Fisheries.
Hon. Alexander Campbell, Q.C., Postmaster-General.
Hon. Jean Charles Chapais, Minister of Agriculture.
Hon. Hector Louis Langevin, Q.C., Secretary of State.
Hon. Edward Kenny, Receiver-General.

After the Confederation of Quebec, Ontario, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick as provided for by the British North America Act of 1867, the rest of the Provinces were admitted in the following order:—

May 12, 1870. The Province of Manitoba and the North-West Territories.

July 20, 1871. British Columbia.

July 1, 1873. Prince Edward Island.

In each case there was opposition to Confederation, but it was overcome, after a mature consideration of the advantages of a Dominion policy. Certain minor changes with regard to the constitution of the Cabinet, the number of members in the Senate, the House of Commons, etc. followed, and it will be seen that on the subject of the qualifications for voters, payment of members, and even the form of their Legislature, the seven incorporated Provinces have agreed to differ.

Present Administration of Public Affairs.

The administration of Public Affairs is at present divided into the following thirteen instead of the original twelve departments; viz. Finance, Justice, Public Works, Railways and Canals, Militia and Defence, Customs, Agriculture, Post Office, Marine and Fisheries, Inland Revenue, Interior, Indian Affairs and Department of Secretary of State; but provision has recently been made for the amalgamation of the departments of Customs and Inland Revenue, the new department to be known as that of Trade and Commerce, presided over by a Minister designated accordingly, while in the place of the present Ministers of Customs and Inland Revenue, two Comptrollers will be appointed who shall vacate their offices on any change of Government, but shall not necessarily have seats in the Cabinet.

Present Number of Senators.

The number of Senators cannot exceed 78 until the admission of Newfoundland, when it may be increased to 82. There are at present 78 members, representing the several provinces as follows:—Ontario, 24; Quebec, 24; Nova Scotia, 10; New Brunswick, 10; Manitoba, 3; British Columbia, 2; Prince Edward Island, 4; and the North-West Territories, 1. Bills of

all kinds, *except money bills*, can be originated in the Senate. A Senator cannot be elected a member of the House of Commons.

Number of Members in the House of Commons.

The original number of members of the House of Commons was 181, but in accordance with the provisions of the British North America Act, and in consequence of the admission of new Provinces and Territories, this number has been increased to 215, distributed as follows:—Ontario, 92; Quebec, 65; Nova Scotia, 21; New Brunswick, 16; Manitoba, 5; British Columbia, 6; Prince Edward Island, 6; and the North-West Territories, 4. By section 51 of the British North America Act it was provided that the number of representatives for Quebec should always be 65, and that the other Provinces should be represented in such proportion to their population, as ascertained at each decennial census, as the number 65 would bear to the population of Quebec.

Qualifications of Voters for Dominion Elections.

The qualifications for voters at elections for the Dominion Parliament are as follow:—A vote is given to every male subject of the full age of twenty-one years, being the owner, tenant, or occupier of real property of the actual value in cities of $300 (£60), in towns of $200 (£40), or elsewhere of $150 (£30), or of the yearly value wherever situate of not less than $2 (10s.) per month, or $6 (30s.) per quarter, or $12 (£3) half-yearly, or $20 (£4) per annum, or who is a resident in any electoral district with an income from earnings or investments of not less than $300 (£60) per annum, or is the son of a farmer, or any other owner of real property, which is of sufficient value to qualify both father and son, or is a fisherman and owner of real property, which with boats, nets, and fishing-tackle amounts to $150 (£30) actual value. Voting is by ballot, except in the Territories.

What Indians may Vote.

Indians in Manitoba, British Columbia, the District of Keewatin, and the Territories are not entitled to vote. Indians

in other parts of Canada, possessed of land on a reserve, with improvements of not less value than $150 (£30) and not otherwise disqualified, shall be entitled to vote.

What Persons Disqualified.

The following persons, in addition to the Indians above mentioned, are disqualified for voting at elections for the Dominion Parliament, viz. the chief justice and judges of the Supreme Court, the chief justices and judges of the Superior Courts, and the judges of all other Courts in the Dominion. Revising officers, returning officers, and election clerks and all counsel, agents, attorneys, and clerks of candidates, who have been or may be paid for their services, are disqualified from voting in the district in which they have been so engaged but not elsewhere.

Provincial Qualifications for Voters.

The qualifications for voters at elections for the Provincial Assemblies are determined by the several Legislatures and vary accordingly.

Number of Voters.

For the General Election of 1887 no less than 938,159 voters were on the list. Of these 659,319 recorded their votes.

Proportion of Members to Population.

The proportion of members per 100,000 of the population at the census of 1881 in the following countries was :—

United Kingdom . . .	2
Canada	5
Victoria	10
New South Wales . . .	14·4
Queensland	25·8
South Australia	16·0
Tasmania	27·6
New Zealand	16·5.

Representation.

The following table gives the proportionate representation of each Province according to the Re-distribution Act of 1882 :—

Ontario . . .	one member to	20,908	of population.
Quebec . . .	„	20,904	„
Nova Scotia . .	„	20,979	„
New Brunswick . .	„	20,077	„
Manitoba . . .	„	13,190	„
British Columbia .	„	8,243	„
Prince Edward Island	„	18,148	„
The Territories . .	„	20,296	„

The original numbers of representatives from Manitoba, British Columbia, and Prince Edward Island were especially provided for in the Acts admitting these Provinces into the Confederation.

Subsequent readjustment will be in accordance with the above-mentioned section of the British North America Act. According to the census of 1886 the representation in Manitoba was one member to 21,728 of the population.

The forms of the Legislatures vary in the different Provinces. Quebec, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Prince Edward Island each have two Chambers (a Legislative Council and a Legislative Assembly) and a responsible Ministry; in Ontario, Manitoba, and British Columbia there is only one Chamber (the Legislative Assembly) and a responsible Ministry. In Prince Edward Island the members of the Council are elected; in Quebec, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick they are appointed for life by the Lieutenant-Governor. The following is a complete list of the numbers of Members of the Provincial Legislatures:—

Legislatures.	*Legislative Council.*	*Legislative Assembly.*
Prince Edward Island . .	13	30
Nova Scotia	17	38
New Brunswick . . .	17	41
Quebec	24	65
Ontario	—	90
Manitoba	—	35
British Columbia . . .	—	25
The Territories (N.W. Council)	—	20

With regard to the *payment of Members* the rules vary in the different Provinces. In *Ontario* the allowance is six dollars a day on which the Member attends if the Session does not exceed thirty days; in *Manitoba* and *New Brunswick* a sessional allow-

ance has been adopted; in Prince Edward Island payment depends on an annual vote. In the Cape Colony Constitution Ordinance it was provided that Members of either House residing more than ten miles from the Seat of Government should be paid in addition to the rate of travelling expenses at a shilling a mile, £1 a day for any Session of Parliament not exceeding fifty (afterwards increased to ninety) days. It should be remarked that each Dominion Senator receives $1000 (£200) per annum as an indemnity. Members of the House of Commons are paid at the rate of £2 a day if the Session is less than thirty days, and £200 for the Session if over thirty days.

Naturalisation.

Any person, an alien, who has resided for three years in this country can, after taking the oath of residence and allegiance before a judge, commissioner, or magistrate, and having the same registered, obtain a certificate of naturalisation, and become entitled to the privileges of a British subject. An alien woman, when married to a British subject, becomes thereby a naturalised British subject.

Governors-General of Canada since 1867.

Name.	*Date of Appointment.*
The Right Hon. Viscount Monck, G.C.M.G. . .	June 1, 1867.
The Right Hon. Lord Lisgar, G.C.M.G. . . .	Dec. 29, 1868.
The Right Hon. the Earl of Dufferin, K.P., K.C.B., G.C.M.G.	May 22, 1872.
The Right Hon. the Marquis of Lorne, K.T., G.C.M.G.	Oct. 5, 1878.
The Most Hon. the Marquis of Lansdowne, G.C.M.C.	Aug. 18, 1883.
The Right Hon. Lord Stanley of Preston, G.C.B. .	May 1, 1888.

Local Government.

In all the Provinces local self-government has been developed to the fullest extent. In Ontario the system is to be found in the most complete and symmetrical form, towards which the others closely approximate. The organisation is: (1) Townships, or rural districts of 8 or 10 square miles, with a population of 3000 to 6000, administered by a reeve and four councillors. (2) Villages with a population of 750, governed like the Township.

(3) Towns with a population over 2000, governed by the Mayor and three councillors for each ward if there are less than five wards, and two councillors if more than five. The reeves, deputy-reeves, mayors, and councillors are all elected annually by the rate-payers.

Above these stands the County Municipality, consisting of the reeves and deputy-reeves of the townships, villages, and towns within the county, one of these who presides being called "Warden" of the County.

Alongside the county stands the city with a population of over 10,000, governed by a municipal body consisting of a mayor and aldermen (three for each ward), with powers and functions akin to those of counties and towns combined. The councils have powers to levy rates, create debts, promote agriculture, trade, or manufactures, or railways, powers relating to drainage, roads, paupers, cemeteries, public schools, free libraries, markets, fire-companies, etc., etc.

APPENDIX IX.

The North-West Territories.

By a Canadian Act (38 Vict. cap. 49) the territories formerly known as Rupert's Land and the North-West Territories are, with the exception of such portions thereof as formed the Province of Manitoba and the district of Keewatin, called and known as the North-West Territories, and were created into a government entirely separate and distinct from Manitoba. . . . The Territories were divided in 1882 into four provisional districts, viz., Assiniboia, Saskatchewan, Alberta, and Athabasca. Regina, the capital of the Provisional Government of the North-West Territories, is in the district of Assiniboia.

Keewatin, according to the latest maps, is part of the province of Ontario.

The North-West Territories are presided over by a Lieutenant-Governor, and a council, partly elected by the people and partly appointed by the Privy Council of the Dominion.

APPENDIX X.

The Selkirk Colony.

A South-African Parallel.

In 1820, 4000 British settlers were sent out to Algoa Bay in Cape Colony to cultivate the land and to form a buffer between the Kaffirs on the frontier and the colonists further inland. The Napoleonic campaigns had caused acute distress in many parts of England, and the Government voted £50,000 to help these emigrants out. The Selkirk settlement was owing to the same cause. In the case of South Africa, Colonel Collins in South Africa and Mr. Vansittart at home were the advocates of the experiment. Many of the emigrants chosen were of Scotch extraction. 'The landing at Algoa Bay was a dangerous one, being made by surge boats. . . . But there was one circumstance which gladdened the hearts of the new arrivals. Many of them were Scotch, and on the shore they could see an old fort and the tents and houses of a division of the 72nd Regiment. Of course the Highlanders came down to meet the colonists and help them, and the poet Pringle says in his narrative:—"Approaching the Highland soldiers I spoke to them in broad Scotch, and entreated them to be careful of their country folk. Scotch folk, are they? said a weather-beaten corporal with a strong northern brogue. Never fear, sir, but we shall be careful of them." There is something affecting in the incident. One touch of Highland nature made the whole little world there kin.'

APPENDIX XI.

Dease and Simpson Route.

'It is but fair to mention that Dease and Simpson's boat voyage from Fort Chipewyan to Point Barrow and back to winter quarters at the North-East end of Great Bear Lake, in

1837, far exceeded in length that of Franklin in 1826; and also that their voyage from the Coppermine along the coast eastward exceeded Richardson's 902 miles, with the further difficulty that Simpson had to return while Richardson had not.'—J. Rae, M.D., F.R.S., October, 1889.

APPENDIX XII.

Navigation of the Mackenzie River.

'The Mackenzie River is one of the finest water-courses in the world, being navigable for about 1500 miles from its mouth without interruption.' (See official Year-Book of the Church of England, 1887). This remark applies of course to the brief summer period only. Dr. Rae writes (October, 1889), 'The Hudson Bay Company already have two steamers on the Mackenzie waters.'

In connection with the Mackenzie basin, it may be well to recall the numerous artificial canals and water-ways already in existence in the South. In United States territory there is,—

(1) *Sault Ste. Marie Canal* between Lake Superior and Lake Huron. Open for navigation for 224 days in 1886 and for 216 days in 1887. The tonnage that passes through is said to be actually greater than that which goes through the Suez Canal.

(2) On the *St. Lawrence*:—

(*a*) 'The Welland' from Port Colborne on Lake Erie to Port Dalhousie on Lake Ontario, 26¾ miles, with a total rise of 526¾ feet.

(*b*) The Galops, $7\frac{5}{8}$ miles in length, with a rise of 15¾ feet.

(*c*) The Rapide Plat, 4 miles, and a rise of 11½ feet.

(*d*) Farran's Point, ¾ of a mile, rise 4 feet.

(*e*) The Cornwall, 11½ miles, rise 48 feet.

(*f*) The Beauharnois, 11¼ miles, rise 82½ feet.

(*g*) Lachine Canal, 8½ miles, rise 45 feet.

(3) *The Ottawa*, connecting Montreal and the Ottawa.

The Rideau Canal affords communication between Montreal and Kingston.

(4) *Chambly Canal*, passing the rapids between Chambly and St. John's on the Richelieu River, has a rise of 79 feet. By the Lake Champlain Canal, communication is obtained with the Hudson River, and thence to New York, 330 miles from the boundary line.

(5) *The Burlington Bay Canal*, half a mile in length, connecting Burlington Bay and Lake Ontario, giving access to the Port of Hamilton.

(6) *St. Peter's Canal*, Cape Breton, N. S., gives access from the Atlantic to the Bras d'or Lakes; 2400 feet long.

(7) *Trent River System*, the object is to connect Lakes Huron and Ontario. The total distance is 235 miles, of which 155 miles is available for light draft vessels.

(8) *Murray Canal*, through Isthmus of Murray, giving connection westward between the Bay of Quinté and Lake Ontario. It is 4¼ miles in length, and has no locks.

At the time of Confederation all the Canals became the property of the Dominion Government. Total expenditure, $51,395,550, or £10,000,000 roughly.—*Canada, Statistical Abstract and Record*, 1887.

APPENDIX XIII.

The San Juan Award.

'This difficulty arose wholly from an oversight on the part of the Boundary Commissioners, who decided that the boundary should be a line running down the middle of the Channel between Vancouver's Island and the Continent, the Channel being full of Islands. The Commissioners should have had two good maps on which the line of division was drawn, of which one should have been sent to each country.' John Rae, M.D., F.R.S.

APPENDIX XIV.

The Codrington Trust.

'Barbados possesses a college founded by General Codrington, a native of the Island, who died in 1710, and whose name it bears. It was affiliated to Durham University in 1875. It is under the administration of the S.P.G., who are the Trustees of General Codrington's will. There are several theological scholarships of the value of £30 per annum from the College funds, and four Island scholarships of the value of £40 per annum paid from the Colonial Treasury. The latter are confined to natives or sons of natives. There is a good Grammar School, called Harrison College, in Bridgetown, established on an old foundation, endowed many years ago, which has been liberally supported by the Legislature, and promises useful results. It has a staff of seven University men as Masters, a Professor of Chemistry and Agricultural Science, and a Professor of German. The average number of pupils is about 140.

'It may be noted also that another First Grade School, "The Lodge," situated in St. John's Parish, to the north-east of the Island, was re-opened in 1882 after being closed for several years. The number of pupils at the close of 1883 was sixteen. There are four Barbados scholarships, established by the Education Board and endowed by the Colony, each of the value of £175 annually, tenable at Oxford or Cambridge for four years. Besides these scholarships there are grants in aid to the successful competitors for the Gilchrist and Pembroke Scholarships of £75 each per annum, for three or four years respectively. The Gilchrist Scholarship has been gained eight times in nine years by natives of Barbados.' (Colonial Office List, p. 200, 1885.)

It may be interesting to know that Colonel Christopher Codrington's property consisted of two estates known as Consetts and Codrington's. They comprised 763 acres, three windmills, sugar buildings, 315 *negroes*, and 100 head of cattle. The Society came into possession in 1812. The main object of the Foundation has been to prepare candidates for Holy Orders. The manner in which an unholy traffic was turned to a holy

use reminds us of the history of the Cathedral at Zanzibar. 'At present the site of the most infamous slave-market in the world, where every year 30,000 human beings were sold, is the Christian settlement of Zanzibar, and its chief ornament is the beautiful Cathedral designed and built by Bishop Steere.'

APPENDIX XV.

List of Expeditions in search of the North-West Passage.

In the Fifteenth Century.

1497. *John Cabot* discovered Labrador and Newfoundland.
1498. *Sebastian Cabot* sailed up Davis Strait.

In the Sixteenth Century.

1500. *Gaspar Cortereal*, a Portuguese sailor, sailed to Newfoundland and Labrador. He was lost, and *Miquel Cortereal*, his brother, went in search of him. He was lost also.
1524. On behalf of the Spaniards, *Gomez* sailed in search of the Moluccas by the North-West.
1524. On behalf of the French, *Verrazano* sailed to the North-West, but got no higher than latitude 50°.
1527. *Robert Thorne* of Bristol sailed with two ships in search of a North-West passage. He was lost on the voyage.
1534-5. *Jacques Cartier* explored the St. Lawrence with a view of reaching the Pacific.
1576. *Sir Martin Frobisher* sailed with three ships to discover 'The Straits of Anian.' He reached Meta Incognita at the mouth of Hudson Bay.
1577. *Sir Francis Drake* sailed through the Straits of Magellan and coasted along the west coast of North America with a view of discovering the North-West passage from the Pacific.

1587. *Davis* reached a high latitude about that of Uppernavik on the Greenland Coast in the Strait named after him.

In the Seventeenth Century.

1602. *George Weymouth* was sent out by the Muscovy Company. His crew mutinied and he only reached the entrance to Hudson Bay.
1606. *John Knight* was sent out by the Muscovy Company.
1610. *Henry Hudson* discovered the Bay that bears his name.
1610. *Sir Thomas Button* explored part of Hudson Bay.
1615. *Bylot and Baffin* were sent out by merchant venturers to examine Hudson Bay.
1616. *Bylot and Baffin* were sent up Davis Strait. Baffin's Bay named. Lancaster Sound discovered, also Jones and Smith Sound. The passage despaired of by this route.
1631. *Captain James and Fox* explored the Northern littoral of Hudson Bay to discover, if possible, a passage here.

In the Eighteenth Century.

1719. The Hudson Bay Company fitted out an expedition under *Knight and Barlow.* It was lost on Marble Island.
1741. *Captain Middleton* was sent out with two vessels to the North of Hudson Bay. He named Wager Inlet and Repulse Bay.
1746. Captain Moore and Smith spent a winter in Wager Bay.
1771. *Hearne* made his land journey down the Coppermine River to the Polar Sea.
1776. *Lieutenant Pickersgill* was sent out with a view of acting in concert with Captain Cook's Pacific expedition.
1777. *Lieutenant Young* was sent out with the same object.
1778-9. *Captain Cook* went in search of the North-West passage by the North Pacific and Behring Strait. He named Icy Cape.
1789. *Mackenzie* explored the basin of Mackenzie River and saw the Polar Sea.

These land voyages introduced a new feature in Arctic exploration.

IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

1818. *Captain John Ross* was sent out by the Admiralty with the Isabella. He reached Lancaster Sound.

1819–20. *Lieutenant Parry* went down Lancaster Sound.

1820. *John Franklin, Hood, Richardson,* and *Back* undertook a land journey to the sources of the Coppermine River and eastwards.

1845. On the 19th of May Franklin sailed with the Erebus and Terror in search of the North-West Passage by Lancaster Sound, and was never seen again.

Since he was lost nearly thirty vessels have sailed on his track to discover some trace or vestige of him and his ships.

In 1847, 1848, 1849, 1851, 1853 and 1854 Rae explored the coastline of North America in a series of remarkable journeys by boat and sledge.

1851. Sir Robert M'Clure in the Investigator went in search of Franklin, and going in at Behring Strait came out at Lancaster Sound, thus accomplishing the North-West Passage. But he had to leave his ship behind.

Ommanney (1851), Osborne (1851), Collinson (1850–2), Belcher (1853), M'Clintock (1853–8), all contributed their share to the great task of exploring the shores of the Arctic Archipelago. (See Circumpolar Map facing p. 240.)

GENERAL INDEX.

A.

Abenakis, page 47.
Abercrombie, 126.
Acadia, 53, 60, 65, 88, 106, 108.
Acadians, expulsion of, 120.
Achilles, 12.
Acre, 17.
Act, the British North America, 213, 302.
— the Constitutional, 147, 172, 182, 288.
— the Seigneurial Tenure, 205.
— the Voluntary, 205.
Admiral of fishing fleet, 30.
Africa, 4, 90.
— South, 30, 219–224.
Ahasistari, 80.
Alabama claims, 267.
Alaska, 266.
Albany, 93, 97, 159.
Alberta, 258.
Alciphron, 271.
Aleutian Islands, 41.
Alexander, Pope, 32.
— Sir W., 111.
Algarves, 4.
Algeria, 6, 151.
Algerine pirates, 27.
Algoa Bay, 31.
Algonkins, 31, 41, 47.
Alleghanies, the, 91, 115.
Allouez, Father, 82.
Alma, 217.
Alps, Southern, 139.
Amadas, Captain, 68.
Amadis de Gaul, 70.
Amboyna, massacre of, 78.
Amherst, General, 126, 128, 129.
Amherstburg, 160.
Amphictyonic Council, 276.
Andaman Islands, 18.
Andastes, 49.
Angajorkak, 42.
Anian, Straits of, 33.
Annapolis, 97, 107.
Anne, Queen, 97.
Anson, 12.
Anticosti, Island of, 32, 94, 148.
Arab pilots, 27.
Arbitration, international, 254.
Archibald, Sir A. G., 208.
Arctic Archipelago, 42.
— Current, 107.
— Discovery, 98, 124, 155, 240, 323.
— Sea, 98, 124, 262.
Are, the historian, 15.
Argentine Republic, 38.
Ark, the ship, 71.
Arkansas, 83.
Armada, Spanish, 29.
Army, Colonial, 126, 129.
Ashburton, 186.
Ashurst, Thomas, 27.
Assembly, Colonial, 138, 147, 174, 181, 182.
Assiento, the, 78.
Assiniboine River, 123, 233, 244.
Astor, Jacob, 157.
Athabasca River, 123, 155, 241, 248, 251.
Athna River, 41.
Australia, 30, 258.
— Western, 2, 3.
Avalon, 71, 103, 108.

B.

Bacalaos, 24.
Bacalhao, Island of, 24.
Back, George, 241.

Back River, 242.
Bacon, Sir F., 30, 69.
Baffin, 34. 99.
Bagot, Sir Charles, 187, 202.
Baltimore, Lord, 70, 85, 103, 239.
Banff, 259.
Banks, insolvency of, 170.
Bantu Race, 46.
Baptiste, 112.
Barbados, 270.
Barclay, Captain, 163.
Barlow, 68.
Barnstaple, 29.
Barre, Isaac, 137.
Bass, 17.
Bathurst, Lord, 196.
Bathurst Inlet, 242.
Beauchamp, 155.
Beaulieu, 155.
Beauport, 130.
Beaver Indians, 155.
Beaverdams, 165.
Beechey, Captain, 242.
Behring Strait, 41, 156, 241, 242, 248.
Belgians, 263.
Beorn, 15.
Beothuks, 43.
Berbice, 5.
Berkeley, Bishop, 13, 269, 270, 272.
Berlin Conference, 4.
— decrees, 158.
Bermoothes, 272.
Berryman, Commander, 191.
Biart, 56, 110.
Biencourt, 110.
Bilbao, 38.
Bill of Indemnification, 204.
Biscayan fishermen, 6.
Bismarck, 7. 270.
Bisson, Baptist, 155.
Blake, Admiral, 61.
Bligh, Captain, 196.
Blomidon, 109.
Blossom, the, 242.
Board of Trade, 119, 138.
Boers of Africa, 140, 224, 231.
Bolivar, Simon, 5.
Boothia Peninsula, 243.
Borneo Company, 90.
Boscawen, Admiral, 125.
Boston, 63, 72, 162.
Bourbon, 123.
Bow River, 256.
Braddock, 118.
Braddock's Field, 126.
Bradstreet, 126.
Brand, President, 225.
Brattleborough, 115.
Brazil, 4, 13, 27, 189, 246.
Brebœuf, 63, 80.
Breton, Cape, 25, 32, 60, 113, 126, 132.
— fishermen, 6.
Bright, John, 215.
Bristol, 21, 25, 29.
Brock, General, 160, 161.
Broke, Captain, 162.
Buchan, David, 240.
Buffalo city, 266.
Burgesses, 142.
Burke, Edmund, 12, 74, 140, 142, 147, 217, 274, 276.
Burrard Inlet, 251.
Bushland, 15.
Bushmen, 41.
Bute, 133.
Butler, Sir W., 124.
Button, Sir Thomas, 99.
By, Colonel, 168.
Bylot, 124.
Bytown, 168.
Byzantium, 16.

C.

Cabot, 21, 24, 102.
Cabotiana, 26.
Cahiaqua, 58.
Calcutta, 258.
Calgary, 256.
California, 33, 157, 263.
Cambodia, 18.
Camoens, 21.
Campeachy Bay, 39.
Canada, 56, 60, 132, 143.
— Lower, 147, 194, 225.
— Upper, 114, 147, 175.
Canadian River, 39.
Canals of Canada, 248, 321.
Canaries, 19.
Canibas, 110.
Canso, 115.
Canterbury Plains, 139.

Cape, the, 5.
— Bathurst, 43.
— Blanco, 150.
— Bonavista, 24.
— Chidley, 99.
— Cod, 56.
— Comfort, 124.
— Dobbs, 124.
— Fear, 47.
— Henrietta Maria, 99.
— Horn, 258.
— Primavista, 25.
— Rouge, 32, 151.
— Split, 109.
— St. Mark, 25.
Cape Colony, 3, 152.
Capetown, 7, 225.
Capitol, the, Washington, 14, 164.
Capo de Portogesi, 100.
Cardwell, Lord, 213.
Carib, 13.
Caribbean Sea, 24.
Cariboo, 44.
— district, 260.
Carlton House, 241.
Carnarvon, Lord, 213, 216.
Carolina, 36, 74, 92, 138, 263.
Carpini, Friar, 17.
Carthage, 8.
Cartier, Jacques, 30, 31, 65.
Cartwright, Captain, 44.
Cascade Range, 252.
Casco Bay, 94.
Caspian Sea, 17.
Castle of St. Louis, 130.
Castor, 242.
Cataraqui, seigneury of, 148.
— Fort, 92.
Cathcart, Lord, 202.
Catherine of Aragon, 32.
Catholics, Roman, 226.
Cavaliers, 268.
Cayenne, 7.
Cayugas, 48.
Celts, 263.
Cetywayo, 46.
Ceylon, 2, 18.
Chaka, King, 46.
Champlain, Samuel, 55, 56, 57, 60, 61, 153, 268.
Chandler, General, 162.
Charles I, 103.
Charles II, 233.
— IX, 36.
Charles' Fort, 100.
Charlevoix, 179.
Charlotte Island, 251.
Charlottetown Convention, 211.
Charters from Henri IV, 109.
— Henry VII, 25, 27.
— Henry VIII, 25.
— James I, 69, 73.
— Louis XIII, 60.
— Queen Elizabeth, 66, 68.
Chaudière, 169.
Chauvin of Rouen, 54.
Chebucto Harbour, 117.
Cherokees, 44.
Chesapeake, the, 162.
Chester, 163.
Chickasaws, 44.
Chilcotin, 260.
China, 8, 18.
Chincheu, 18.
Choctaws, 44.
Cholera, Asiatic, 169.
Church, Ben, 96.
Church, Dutch Reformed, 205.
Church in Canada, 150.
Churchill Factory, 99.
— River, 99.
Cipango, 18, 22.
Civil List, 203.
Civil War in the States, 264.
Clarke, 123.
Clarkson, 270.
Clergy Reserves, 149, 172, 182, 204.
Coats's Geography of Hudson's Bay, 124.
Cochrane, Admiral, 164.
Cockin's Sound, 99.
Codrington, General, 270.
Colborne, Sir John, 201.
Coligny, 6, 36, 37, 60.
College, McGill, 168.
— Dalhousie, 168.
— Trinity, 188.
Columbia, British, 219, 249, 250.
Columbia River, 157, 250.
Columbus, 19, 20, 23.
Colville, 41.
Committees on Canada, 146.
Commons, Canadian House of, 215.

Compact, Family, 175, 181, 194, 205.
Compact of Pilgrim Fathers, 72.
Companies, British and Foreign, 87, 88.
Company of a Hundred Associates, 59, 64, 205.
— Dutch East India, 5, 274.
— North Borneo, 90.
— South-East Africa, 90.
Conception Bay, 30.
Conciliation with America, 146.
Condé, Prince of, 57.
Confederation, 193, 209.
— Bill of 1867, 210.
Conference, Colonial, 207.
Congo, 4.
Congress, American, 143, 160, 210, 220.
Conquistadores, 38.
Constantinople, 16.
Constitution of Canada, 145, 146, 147, 173, 206, 221.
Convict settlements, 7, 274.
Cook, James, 12, 130, 156, 241.
Copenhagen, 15.
Coppermine River, 241, 242.
Corcyra, 10.
Corinth, 10.
Cornwallis, Governor, 119, 143.
— Valley of, 109, 163.
Cornwallis' forms, 91.
Coromandel coast, 18.
Coronation Gulf, 241.
Corsairs, 29.
Corsica, 19.
Cortereal, 100.
Cortez, Fernando, 38.
Council, Executive, 174, 178, 181, 215.
— Privy, 174, 219, 237, 302.
Councils, Legislative, 147, 182, 208.
Coursol, Judge, 265.
Craig, 152.
Craigellachie, 256.
Creasy, Sir Edward, 35.
Crees, 155, 244.
Crimea, 207.
Crown Lands, 174.
— Point, 118, 132.
Crow's Nest Pass, 249.
Crozat, Anthony, 87.
Crusades, 19.
Cumberland Basin, 96.
— House, 241.
— Strait, 98.
Cunningham River, 99.
Cunynghame, Sir Arthur, 138.
Cupid's Cove, 30.
Cuzco, 50.

D.

Dablon, 82.
Daer Fort, 239.
Daniel, Père, 62.
d'Anville, 116.
Dartmouth, 98, 119.
Davis, 34.
Davis' Straits, 12, 98.
d'Ailleboust, 64.
d'Argenson, 64.
d'Avaugour, 64.
de Chaste, 55.
de Lauson, 64, 148.
de Lévi, 132.
de Mantel, 93.
de Mesy, 79.
de Monts, 109.
de Ramezay, 132.
de Rouville, 93.
de Ruyter, 78.
Dearborn, General, 161.
Dease, 243.
Defence, Colonial, 141, 207.
Delagoa Bay, 4.
Delaware, Bay of, 39, 66, 86, 92.
Delaware, Lord, 69.
Delight, the, 67.
Delos, Confederacy of, 10.
Demerara, 5.
Detroit, 48, 58, 160.
Diamond mines, 30.
Diaz, Bartolomeo, 20.
D'Iberville, 92, 95, 100.
Dikastery, 10.
Dominion of Canada, 213.
Dominion Day, 213.
Donacona, chief, 31.
Dorchester, Lord, 146.
Dorset, Earl of, 69.
Douglas, Earl Selkirk, 238.
Dove, the, 71.
Downing, George, 74.

Drake, Sir Francis, 29, 156.
Drayton, Michael, 69.
Drummond, General, 163, 164.
Ducetti, 155.
Duchambon, 116.
Duel, a famous, 162.
Dufferin, Lord, 197.
Durban, 228.
Durham, Lord, 180, 199.
Durham batteaux, 168.
Dutch at the Cape, 77, 89, 184, 198.

E.

Edmonton, 248.
Education, 85, 146.
Edward IV, 26.
— VI, 34.
Elgin, Lord, 188, 202.
Eliot, Hugh, 27.
Elizabeth, Queen, 67, 68.
Emigration to Canada, 59, 263.
Emperor of Germany, 253.
England, 3, 35, 106, 133, 134, 158.
English language, 268.
Epidamnus, 10.
Episcopalians, 205.
Eric the Red, 15.
Eries, the, 49.
Eskimo, 41, 42, 243.
Espiritu Santo, 39.
Esquimault ('Squimo), 228.
Eugene, Prince, 97.
Europe in 1812, 158.
Exeter, 29.
Exhibition, the Great, 188.
Extradition Treaty, 187.

F.

Falkland Islands, 12.
Falls of St. Mary, 82.
— the Chaudière, 169.
Faroes, 15.
Federal Council, 218.
Federal Union of Provinces, 181, 210.
Federalism, 145, 195.
Fenians, 266, 267.
Ferdinand, 19.
Ferguson, Mary, 93.
Fernandez, Francisco, 39.
Ferryland, 103.
Feudal tenure, 148.
Fisheries Rights, 30, 105, 106, 188, 189.
Fishing Admirals, 104.
Flinders, 12.
Florida, 36, 38.
Fort Beauséjour, 117.
— Chippewyan, 124, 154, 155, 241.
— Dummer, 115.
— du Quesne, 117, 126.
— Enterprise, 241.
— Erie, 266.
— Frontenac, 91, 92, 126.
— George, 161.
— Hudson Bay, 237.
— Lawrence, 117.
— Malden, 160.
— Necessity, 117.
— Niagara, 115, 129, 132, 145.
— of the Alleghanies, 115.
— Oswego, 115, 125, 163.
— Reliance, 242.
— St. Charles, 122.
— William, 122, 244.
— William Henry, 125.
Forty Mile Creek, 162.
Fox the explorer, 124.
Fox River, 83.
Foxes, tribe of, 47.
France, Old, 176.
Francis I, 30.
Franklin, Benjamin, 118.
— Sir John, 240, 241.
Frazer River, 250, 251, 252.
Fredericton, 128, 145.
Free State, the, 224, 229.
Freehold tenure, 149, 206.
French Canadians, 145, 150, 206.
— immigrants, 263.
— Law, 145.
— policy, 75, 151, 184.
— Revolution, 150, 160, 176.
— River, 58, 63.
Frere, Sir Bartle, 138, 198.
Frobisher, 33, 98.
Frontenac, Count, 50, 87, 92, 93, 94, 95.
Fuca, Juan de, 33.
Fulton, 153.
Fundy, Bay of, 56, 107, 112, 163, 167.
Fury and Hecla Straits, 243.

G.

Gabarus Bay, 113.
Gaikas, 138.
Galekas, 138.
Gama, Vasco di, 20.
Garay, Francisco, 39.
Geneva, 267.
Georgia, 92.
Georgian Bay, 58.
Germans, 6, 261, 263.
Gilbert, Sir H., 66.
Gillam, Zechariah, 100.
Gisborne, 191.
Gladstone, W. E., 204.
Glenelg, Lord, 170, 201.
Golden Hind, 67.
Gomez, Stephen, 39.
Gondomar, 70.
Goodwin, Mehetabel, 93.
Gordon, General, 271.
Gorges, Sir Ferdinando, 69.
Gosford, Lord, 170.
Gosnold, 69.
Governor, Lieutenant, 214.
Governor-General of Canada, 214.
Governors, British, 138, 139, 152, 174, 196.
Grand Pré, 108, 117, 120.
Gravesend, 28, 98.
Gray, Bishop, 270.
Gray the poet, 131.
Great Eastern, the, 191.
Great Manitoulin Island, 58, 82.
Great Slave Lake, 155.
Greek colonists, 8.
Greenland, West, 15, 42.
Grenville, 133.
Grey, Lord, 202.
Grinnell Land, 42.
Grits, 211.
Guercheville, M. de, 110.
Guiana, 35.
Guinea, Gulf of, 20, 27.
Gulf Stream, 107.
— of Mexico, 58.
Gunnbeorn's Reef, 15.
Guy, John, 30, 33.

H.

Habitans, 148, 175.
Halifax, 14, 119, 162, 163, 208.
Hangchow, 18.
Hannibal, 249.
Hannington, Bishop, 270.
Hariot, 35.
Harold Harfager, 14.
Harry the Great, 27.
Hawkins, Sir John, 27, 29.
— William, 27.
Head, Sir Edmund, 206, 209.
Hearne, 241.
Hecla, 243.
Helmsdale, 239.
Henri IV, 33, 75.
Henry VII, 25, 26, 27.
— VIII, 27, 30.
Highlanders, 239.
Hill, Staveley, 256.
Hochelaga, 55.
Holbein, 24.
Holland, 5, 184.
Homeward Bound, the, 228.
Hong Kong, 2, 258.
Hood, Robert, 241.
Hore, 28, 33.
Hottentots, 228.
Howe, Honourable Joseph, 208.
Hubb's Point, 253.
Hudson, Henry, 34, 98.
Hudson's Bay, 12, 99, 247, 251.
Hudson's Bay Company, 233, 249, 254.
Hudson's Straits, 25.
Huguenots, 60.
Huron Mission, 44.
Hurons, or Wyandots, 48, 82.

I.

Iceland, 15, 24, 227, 246, 263.
Icy Cape, 156, 242, 243.
Illecillewaet, 257.
Illinois, 47, 83, 91.
Inca, 50.
Indians, name of, 40.
Indies, West, 188.
Innocent IV, 17.
Innuit, 41.
Institute, Royal Colonial, 100.
Irish, 263.
Iroquois, or Five Nations, 40, 48, 62, 64, 91, 95, 97, 114.
Isabella, Queen, 19.
Island, Earl of Bristol's, 99.

Island, Earl of Danby's, 99.
— Lord Weston's, 99.
— Navy, 178.
— of Orleans, 130.
— Sir Thomas Roe's, 99.
Island Queen, 265.
Italian Republics, 17.

J.

Jacinto, 264.
Jacobins, 150, 176.
James, Captain, 99.
James' Bay, 99.
James I, 69, 73.
Japan, 18, 251.
Java, 6, 18, 198.
Jefferson, 150.
Jena, battle of, 158.
Jervis, Earl St. Vincent, 130.
Jesuits, 6, 81, 86, 87, 110, 149.
Jogues, Isaac, 63.
Johnson's Island, 265.
Johnston, John, 96.

K.

Kaffirs, 44, 138.
Kaffraria, 8.
Kaministiquia, 122.
Kamloops, 260.
Karakoram, 17.
Kars, 208.
Keelness, 16,
Kennebec River, 72, 110.
Kentucky, 47.
Khan, the Great, 17, 18.
Khartoum, 271.
Kicking Horse Pass, 249.
— River, 256.
King William Land, 244.
Kingston, 92, 186, 201.
Kirke, Sir David, 60, 103, 111.
Knights Baronets of Nova Scotia, 110, 269.
Kootenay District, 260.
— Pass, 249.

L.

Labrador, 24, 32, 42, 189.
Lachine Canal, 168.
— Rapids, 56, 65, 91.
Lacolle River, 161.
Lake Champlain, 57, 129, 161, 164.
Lake Erie, 62, 161, 163, 265.
— George, 57, 94, 126.
— Michigan, 62, 83, 267.
— Nipissing, 58, 63, 260.
— of the woods, 187.
— Ontario, 63, 83, 129, 161, 169.
— Simcoe, 62.
— St. Clair, 58, 83, 163.
— St. Peter, 57.
Lallemand, Gabriel, 63.
Lancaster Sound, 243.
Landry, 155.
Lane, Sir Ralph, 34.
Language, French and English, 147.
Laudonnière, 36, 53.
Laval, Bishop, 64, 79.
Lawrence, 270.
Lepine, 244.
Lewiston, 165.
Leon, Ponce de, 38.
Liberadores, 38.
Liberia, 20.
Liberty, colonial, 139.
Lief the Lucky, 15.
Lillooet, 260.
Lincoln, Earl of, 69.
Lisbon, 20.
Liverpool, 248, 259.
Livingstone, 12, 271.
Locke, 85, 274.
London, 10.
Longfellow's Evangeline, 108, 148.
Long knives, 160.
Lorette, 48.
Loudon, Lord, 125.
Louis XIV, 83, 84.
Louisburg, 113, 115, 125, 126.
Louisiana, 84.
Loyalists, United Empire, 143, 146, 160, 194.
Loyalty, colonial, 152, 159.
Loyola, Ignatius, 80, 81.
Lundy's Lane, 164.
Lymington, 153.

M.

Macdonald, Sir J., 219.
Macdonell, Colonel, 101.
Machar, Agnes Maude, 275.
Mackay, 155.
Mackenzie, Alexander, 153.

Mackenzie River, 42, 235, 248, 251.
Mackinaw, 83, 91.
Macmullen, 165.
McNab, Sir Allan, 178.
Madagascar, 6, 9, 151.
Madrid, 5.
Magelhaens, 23, 38.
Magnetic needle, 18.
Mahone Bay, 163.
Maine, 66, 74, 92, 95, 163, 187, 262.
— duties, 168.
Maitland, Sir P., 201.
Malabar, coast of, 20.
Malay Archipelago, 20.
Malays, 238.
Malplaquet, 121.
Manchester industries, 136.
Manhattan, Isle of, 5.
Manhattans, 47.
Manitoba, 190, 219, 238, 244, 247, 258.
Manitou, the Indian, 51, 52.
Marlborough, 97.
Marquette, 82, 268.
Martinique, 94, 130.
Marvell, Andrew, 272.
Mary de Medici, 110.
Maryland, 66, 71, 92.
Mason, 264.
Massachusetts, 47, 66, 72, 73, 74, 92, 129.
Maurepas, 123.
Mauritius, 2.
May River, 36.
Mayflower, the, 9, 71.
Melbourne, 7.
Melfi, Flavio da, 18.
Melinda, 20.
Melville Peninsula, 243.
Menendez, Pedro, 37.
Mennonites, 246, 260.
Merchant Taylors, 26.
Merrimac, 56, 95.
Metcalfe, Lord, 202.
Miamis, 47.
Michigan, 160.
Michillimakinac, 122.
Micmacs, 47.
Middleton, Captain, 124.
Milan decrees, 158.
Miletus, 10.
Militia, 146, 152, 164.
Mines, Basin of, 107.
Minion, the, 28.
Miquelon, 6, 132.
Miramichi Fire, 169.
Mississippi, 39, 41, 82, 83, 164, 241, 263.
Missouri, 83.
Mobile, 53.
Mobilian Groups, 41, 53.
Mohawks, 63.
Moines, des, Valley of, 47.
Moraviansted, 163.
Monck, Lord, 209.
Monckton, Robert, 130.
Mongols, 17.
Monongahela River, 117, 127.
Monroe doctrine, 5, 264.
Monson, Sir W., 26.
Montana, 263.
Montcalm, 6, 125, 132.
Montezuma, 39, 50.
Montmagny, M. de, 63.
Montmorency, 130.
Montreal, 61, 132, 148, 168, 178, 192, 208, 259, 260.
Monts, Sieur de, 55.
Morocco, 20.
Mount, Sir Donald, 257.
Mount Baker, 252.
Mount-desert Isle, 56.
Municipal Act, 186.
Murray, General, 132.

N.

Nantes, Edict of, 75.
Napoleon I, 132, 158, 160, 164.
— III, 132.
Narragansetts, 47.
Nassau, 5.
Natal, 2, 20, 226.
Nationalities in Canada, 263.
Navy, Royal, 27, 28.
Nelson, Dr. Wolfred, 178.
Nelson River, 247.
Neutrals, tribe of, 50.
New Britain, 7.
New Brunswick, 65, 144, 145, 161, 169, 175, 187.
New Caledonia, 7.
Newcastle, 86, 169.
New England, 65, 71, 72, 184.

Newfoundland, 6, 24, 28, 66, 97, 101, 189, 212.
New France, 65, 125.
New Guinea, 7.
New Hampshire, 66, 74.
New Holland, 6.
New Ireland, 7.
New Jersey, 5, 66, 92, 97, 129.
New Lands, 15.
New Plymouth, 72.
Newport, 271.
New South Wales, 3, 196.
New Westminster, 258.
New York City, 248.
New York State, 66, 92, 97, 138, 163.
New Zealand, 3.
Niagara, Falls of, 49, 164.
— River, 178.
— village of, 165.
Nicholson, General, 97.
Nicobar, 18.
Niverville, 246.
Nonsuch ketch, 100.
Northmen, 14, 239.
North-West, the, 233.
— Company, 233, 253.
— Passage, 12, 27, 98.
Norton, Lord, 185, 203, 209.
Notre Dame Bay, 24.
Nouvelle Bretagne, 100.
Nova Scotia, 97, 101, 106, 144, 145, 163, 167, 175, 203, 208, 213.
Nova Scotians, 207.

O.

Ohio, 83, 115, 117.
Ojibways, 47, 51.
Oneidas, 48.
O'Neill, General, 266.
Onondaga, valley of, 49.
Onondagas, 48.
Ontario, Province of, 194, 211.
Orcadians, 234.
Oregon River, 157, 260.
— State, 253.
Orinoco, 38.
Otis, 150.
Ottawa River, 58, 63, 144, 147, 168.
— town of, 169, 208.
Ottawas or traders, 47.
Outina, chief, 53.
Overbury, Sir Thomas, 78.
Oyster River, 94.

P.

Pacific Ocean, 155.
— slope, the, 10, 249.
Padus, 8.
Palos, 20.
Panama, 258.
Panaroo, King, 53.
Pantisocracy, 86.
Panuco, 39.
Papineau, 165, 178, 179, 208.
Parker, Captain, 207.
Parkman, 48.
Parliament, British, 141.
— Canadian, first, 147.
Parr, Governor, 144.
Parrtown, 144.
Parry, Captain, 243.
Passamaquoddy Bay, 96.
Patriot army, 178.
Patteson, Bishop, 270.
Paul of Plymouth, the, 27.
Peace Point, 155.
— River, 123, 155, 249, 251.
Peloponnesian War, 10.
Pemaquid fort, 95.
Penn, 85, 86, 239.
Pennsylvania, 92, 136.
Penobscot, 163.
Pensacola, 53.
Pequods, 47.
Perry, Commodore, 163.
Persian Gulf, 18.
Pert, Sir Thomas, 25.
Peru, 38.
Peruvians, 50.
Peters, 74.
Philadelphia, Congress at, 134.
Philo Parsons, the, 265.
Phipps, Sir W., 94.
Phœnicians, 17.
Pilgrim Fathers, 9, 66, 72.
Pinsent, Judge, 100, 103.
Piscataqua, 93.
Pitso, Kaffir, 51.
Pitt, 125, 135, 146.
Pittsburg, 127.
Pizarro, 38, 39.
Placentia, 106.

Plains of Abraham, 131.
Plaisted, Mary, 93.
Plantations, 85, 142.
Plattsburg, 164.
Plymouth, 29, 74.
— Council of, 73.
Pocahontas, 70.
Point Levis, 130.
— Separation, 242.
— Turnagain, 242.
Polar Sea, 155, 240.
Pollux, 242.
Polo, Marco, 18, 20.
— Nicolas and Maffio, 18.
Pontiac, 45.
Popham, Sir J., 69.
Population, test of, 92, 115, 118, 159, 187.
Port Jackson, 1.
— Nelson, 99, 100, 247.
— Razoir, 144.
— Royal, 50, 109, 112, 113.
Portgrave of Rouen, 54.
Portland Inlet, 251.
Porto Rico, 37.
Portugal, 1, 3, 4, 20, 21.
— Cove, 100.
Post Office, Canadian, 188.
Potomac, 71.
Poutrincourt, 109.
President of United States, 220.
Prester John, 17.
Prevost, Sir G., 164.
Prince Edward Island, 126, 211, 212, 219.
Prince of Wales, 191.
Prince Regent's Inlet, 243.
Prince William Henry, 192.
Principato, the, 19.
Proctor, General, 163
Protestants, 37, 76, 149, 172, 227, 240.
Provencher, 244.
Providence, 92.
Provinces, Canadian, 145, 147, 193, 211, 227.
Provincial Government, 215, 220.
Prussia, 246.
Puget Sound, 250.
Purchas, 25.
Puritanism in New England, 111, 269.

Q.

Quakers, 86, 246.
Quebec, 7, 31, 56, 94, 111, 129, 132, 168, 208, 258.
— Act, 145, 160.
— scheme, 212.
Queensland, 3.
Queenston, 160, 165.
Quinte, Bay of, 144.
Quoich River, 243.

R.

Rae, Dr., 243, 280, 283, 320.
Railways of Canada, 188, 225, 246, 255.
Raimondo di Soncino, 22.
Raleigh, Sir W., 35, 67, 69.
Raleigh, Mount, 98.
Ravaillac, 76.
Raymbault, Charles, 63.
Rebellion, Canadian, 170, 171.
Reciprocity Treaty, 188, 265.
Rectories, the, 37, 173.
Redan, the, 208.
Red Indian, 8.
— River, 239.
Reform in Canada, 176, 177, 193, 204.
— of 1832, 173, 183.
Regiment, the 100th, 207.
Republicanism in North America, 138, 145, 171.
Repulse Bay, 243.
Return Reef, 242.
Rhode Island, 66, 92, 94, 271.
Riall, General, 164.
Ribault, John, 36.
Richardson, Dr., 241.
Richelieu, 6, 60, 148, 150, 205, 269.
— River, 57, 76.
Rideau, 169.
Riel, Louis, 244.
Rink, 42.
Ripley, General, 164.
Roanoke, 68.
Roberval, Sieur de, 32.
Robinson, Sir Hercules, 197.
Roche, Marquis de la, 53, 65, 106.
Rocky Mountains, 123, 155, 156, 242, 248, 249, 251, 257.
Rogers, 93.
Rolfe, John, 70.

Ross, General, 164.
— Sir James, 243.
Roundheads, 268.
Rupert, Prince, 103, 233.
Rupert's Land, 235, 268.
Russell, Lord John, 183, 204.
Russians, 246, 253, 263, 267.
Rut, Captain, 28.
Ruysbroeck, friar, 17.

S.

Sable Island, 33, 54.
Sachem, 45, 49.
Sacs, tribe of, 47.
Sagas, 15.
St. Alban's, 265.
St. Ann's, 145.
St. Barbe mines, 84.
St. Charles River, 123, 130.
St. Christopher, 39.
St. Clair Canal, 267.
St. Croix, Island of, 31, 56.
St. Croix River, 56, 163.
St. George, Colonel, 160.
St. Ignace, 62.
St. John's Harbour, 67.
St. John's Island, 25, 132.
St. John's River, 144, 267.
St. John's Town, 144.
St. Joseph, 62.
St. Lawrence, 30, 31, 130, 161, 168, 169, 170, 248, 263, 269.
St. Pierre Island, 6, 132.
St. Sauveur, 56.
St. Sulpice, 148.
Sainte Hélène, 93.
Saintonge, 57.
Salle, de la, 82, 84, 87, 148, 268.
Salmon Falls, 93.
Salouriana, 53.
San Francisco, 251, 254, 258, 259.
San Juan, 253, 266.
San Salvador, 20.
Saskatchewan, 123, 241, 263.
Sault St. Louis, 55.
Saunders, Admiral, 128.
Scandinavians, 227, 261, 263.
Schenectady, 93.
Scots, 260, 263.
Scott, General, 164.
— Sir Walter, 238.
Sebastiana, 26.
Secord, Mrs., 165.
Seeley, Professor, 3, 73, 79.
Seignelay, 84.
Seigneurs, 148, 176, 182, 205, 206.
Seigneury of Anticosti, 148.
— of Cataraqui, 148.
— of Montreal, 148.
Selawik, 41.
Selkirk Mountains, 257.
— Settlement, 238.
Selwyn, Bishop, 270.
Senate, Canadian, 214, 303.
Senecas, 48.
Senegambia, 20.
Shaftesbury, 85.
Shakespeare, 69, 277.
Shannon, the, 162.
Shaumanunes, 43.
Shawnees, 47, 163.
Sheffield, Lord, 135.
Shelburne, 144.
Sherbrooke, Sir John, 163, 168.
Sidon, 8.
Simon's Bay, 152, 228.
Simpson, 243.
Simpson's River, 156.
Sioux, or Dakotas, 48, 123.
Skraelings, 16.
Slave Lake, 242.
— River, 155, 241.
Slick, Sam, 168.
Slidell, Mr., 264.
Smith, Adam, 74, 88.
— John, 68, 70, 71.
— Sir Donald, 256.
Smith Sound, 42, 99.
Soissons, Count de, 57.
Somerset, Lord Charles, 197.
Soto, Ferdinand de, 39.
Southampton, 264.
— Earl of, 69.
Southey, 86, 272.
Spain, 4, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39.
Spaniards at Nootka, 253.
Speedwell, the, 71.
Squirrel, the, 67.
Stadacona, 31.
Staf, Philip, 99.
Stamp Act, 135.
Stanwin, 128.
Star Chamber, 104.
Steamships in Canada, 153.

Steere, Bishop, 270.
Stoneland, 15.
Stony Creek, 162.
Strafford, 203.
Straits of Georgia, 251.
Subercase, 97, 113.
Suez Canal, 258.
Sumatra, 18.
Susquehanna, 86, 272.
Swallow, the, 67.
Sydenham, Lord, 183, 199.
Sydney, 7.

T.

Table Bay, 152.
Tacitus, 128.
Tadousac, 33, 65, 111.
Talon, Jean Baptiste, 80.
Tasmania, 3.
Teazer, the Young, 163.
Tecumseh, chief, 163.
Telegraph, sub-marine, 190, 277.
Teutons, 263.
Texas, 39, 263.
Thames River, 163.
Thimagoa, 53.
Thompson, Hon. Charles P. (Lord Sydenham), 181, 199.
Thorne, Robert, 27.
Thorwald, 15, 16.
Three Mile Boundary, 190.
Thunder Bay, 244.
Ticonderoga, 126.
Tonquin, 6, 151.
Tonti, 83.
Tories, 211.
Toronto, 161, 178, 208.
Totems, 46.
Townshend, Charles, 137.
Trade, Colonial, 142, 188.
Trade Routes, 11, 258.
Transvaal, 224.
Treaty of Aix la Chapelle, 117.
— Ashburton, 186.
— Breda, 112.
— Ghent, 165.
— Paris, 132.
— Ryswick, 77, 95, 96, 106.
— St. Germain en Laye, 60, 103, 111.
— Utrecht, 77, 78, 97, 100, 114.
— Versailles, 106, 143.
Treaty of Washington, 266.
Trent affair, 264.
Trinity, the, 28.
Tromp, Van, 78.
Tuscaroras, 48.
Tyre, 8.

U.

Ulysses, 12.
Union Bill, 181.
United States, 134, 195, 204, 209, 219, 245, 253, 254, 261.
Unjigah River, 123.

V.

Vacca, Cabeza de, 39.
Van Diemen's Land, 6.
Van Rennslaer, General, 160.
Vancouver, 14, 219, 250, 251, 252, 253, 259.
Vancouver, Captain George, 156, 253.
Vane, Sir Harry, 74.
Vaudreuil, Governor, 132.
Venice, 8, 17.
Vera Cruz, 264.
Verendrye, 121.
Vergennes, 133.
Vermilion Pass, 249.
Vermont, 262.
Verrazano, 29.
Viceroyalty of Canada, 32, 60, 65, 106.
Victoria Bridge, 192.
Victoria, Colony of, 3.
Victoria Land, 243.
Victoria, Queen, 170, 190.
Vignau, 58.
Viking, 14, 16, 102.
Villebon, 112.
Vincent, General, 161, 162.
Virginia, 35, 66, 67, 68, 69, 92.
Volunteers, Canadian, 207, 266.

W.

Wabash River, 83.
Wager River, 124.
Wakefield, Gibbon, 139.
Walker, Sir Hovenden, 97.
Waller, the poet, 272.
Walsingham, 34.
Walter the Penniless, 19.

Walvisch Bay, 224.
Washington, city, 164, 262, 266.
— George, 115, 117, 118, 126, 128, 143, 159.
Watkins Point, 71.
Webster, Daniel, 187.
Welland Canal, 168.
Welsford, Major, 207.
Westminster, 276.
— Abbey, 12.
— New, 254, 260.
Wheat in Canada, 262.
Whitbourne, Captain R., 43, 67, 101.
Wilberforce, 270.
Wilkes, Captain, 264.
William IV, 192.
Williams, General Sir Fenwick, 208.
Winder, General, 162.
Wineland, 15.
Wingfield, 69.
Winnipeg, 122, 239, 244, 247, 248, 256.
Winslow, Commander, 181.
Winter Island, 243.
Winthrop, 94.
Wisconsin River, 83.
Wolfe, General, 125, 128, 130, 200.
— Benjamin, 96.
Wollaston Land, 243.
Wolseley, Colonel, 123, 152.
Wolsey, 28.
Wolstenholme, 34.
Wordsworth, 51, 86, 277.
Wye, 61.

Y.

Yale, 257, 271.
Yeardley, Sir G., 70.
Yellow-head Pass, 249, 251.
Yeo, Sir James, 161, 163.
York, 94.
— Factory, 241.
Yorktown, 143.
Yucatan, 39.
Yukon River, 41.

Z.

Zambesi River, 2.
Zanzibar, 224.
Zululand, 46.
Zulus, 51.

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